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A Study of a Community and Its Groups and Institutions Conceived of as Behaviors of Individuals

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MONSERRAT

Monseñor don José Alfonso Pérez Verdú nos ha
mandado una carta en la que nos dice que el presidente
de Uruguay, el Dr. José Batlle y Ordóñez, ha
ordenado que se celebre en la ciudad de Montevideo
una Exposición Universal el año que viene.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION—Scope and Method.....	1
CHAPTER I—Definition of a Community.....	15
II—The People of the Community.....	28
III—Institutional Intra-Community Groupings.....	32
IV—The Nature of Attitudes of the In-Group (Institutional).....	87
V—General Community Attitudes.....	110
VI—The Nature of Community Attitudes.....	120
SUMMARY—Contributions to the Description of Social Relation- ships and Society.....	128

INTRODUCTION¹

SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE TENDS TO BE UNIFIED

The tendency in modern thought is to conceive of the lines between various scientific fields as arbitrary fictions growing out of the fact that various fields of knowledge originated in ancient times, not as a unified body of facts but as distinct subject matters quite foreign to one another. Thus, chemistry had its origin in alchemy, physics in astrology, and biology in medicine.

It is true that modern university departments have grown up along these lines, but no real student in any of the many fields would hold that these divisions are other than a matter of convenience, for, as the problems of all fields have been pushed toward more ultimate conclusions, it has become evident that separation can be maintained on the surface only.

In the traditional development of these fields, however, certain problems have fallen, by natural evolution, into one or another of these arbitrarily created fields. Today physical chemistry, bio-chemistry, bio-physics, and physiological psychology are mute testimonies that in the long run problems in all fields tend toward unity.

In spite of this modern tendency, each field, historically at any rate, deserves much credit for its pioneer exploitation of certain particular problems. The study of human groupings, the subject of this book, was traditionally developed in the field called Sociology. Sociologists were first interested in the human problems that originate in man's living with his fellow men and by squatter's rights the subject matter has belonged to their techniques, so, for the most part, they deserve the credit for the development that has taken place.

¹ Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Syracuse University, February, 1932.

TRADITIONAL EMPHASIS IN THE STUDY OF HUMAN GROUPINGS—NON-INDIVIDUALISTIC

A survey of all of the tools of trade of the various schools that have studied these problems discloses a long list of methodologies. Sorokin, in describing these diverse viewpoints,¹ says, "They have been produced in great abundance like mushrooms after a rain." There are those who talk of Gestalts, culture patterns and social forces; those who deal in surveys, ecological aspects and structural analysis; and others dealing in methods too numerous to be considered here. It suffices to point out that, although some students have stressed the importance of the individual in their theory, no one of these attacks has ever emphasized a purely individualistic approach in the sense that it considered the individual as such as its prime research study.

Perhaps it is only natural in this age that the problems of human groupings should be approached from the standpoint of a subject matter capable of what Dr. Allport calls "explicit denotation."² This has seemed to be the tendency in all other fields. With the renaissance there developed in the so-called physical sciences a peculiar methodological approach to their problems which in ensuing years resulted in unparalleled progress, not only in understanding but also in ability to predict and control in the field of study with which they were concerned.

Psychology and philosophy with more human connections, remained under the influence of scholastic rationalism. The advent of Darwinism in biology resulted in the anti-traditional and empirical school of James, but psychology has only recently attempted to throw off the rationalistic influence and find a subject matter similar to that of other fields. The chief propagandists of this revolution have been the so-called "behaviorists" and, although many of the exponents of this popular doctrine have wandered far afield on the question, the raising of the issue has

¹ Sorokin, Pitirim. *Contemporary Sociological Theories*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928, p. 1.

² Allport, F. H. Group and institution as concepts in a natural science of social phenomena. *American Sociological Society Publications*, 1928, 22, 83-99.

undoubtedly done much to pave the way for the initiation of a subject matter for psychology capable of explicit denotation.

Contemporary with these attempts in general psychology similar attempts were being made to evaluate anew and interpret other problems of social life in terms of such a subject matter. The publication of Dr. F. H. Allport's *Social Psychology* in 1924¹ presented a systematic attempt at description of that psychology of the individual which is met with in human relations. In this text Dr. Allport presented a basic theory that has been more recently developed in later articles regarding the study of human groupings.

This viewpoint held that the problems that scholars had been attempting to describe in terms of "groups" could be studied from the standpoint of individuals. For Dr. Allport, churches and schools are not subject matters analogous to hydrogen, animal cells, or iron, but things of a conceptual order. Because of this difference, it is more valuable to restate the same problems in terms of individuals because only those subject matters capable of what Dr. Allport calls "explicit denotation" allow multi-level study.² Dr. Allport points out in this connection that when a scientist hopes to add explanation to description he descends a level. A biologist thus descends to chemistry, a chemist to physics, etc., although crude prediction of recurrence is possible at one level. Consequently, any one wishing to approach the problems that the man on the street describes as church, school, lodge and government, must reduce his data to an individual level if he wishes to carry on more than a one level study.

At the level of the individual there exists a subject matter to which the complexity of social data is possible of reduction, for, although the comedies and tragedies of wars between nations, the dramas of the rise and fall of royal families, the development of political parties and the like, seem to exist on a plane supra-individual, if the play is closely observed the whole act may be described in terms of individual action.

¹ Allport, F. T. *Social Psychology*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924.

² Allport, F. H. The group fallacy in relation to social science. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1924, 1, 60-73.

It has been suggested by Dr. Allport that perhaps one way to present this type of material so that it would be comparable to the often non-individualistically conceived accounts would be to collect quantitative accounts of common attitudes of individuals and single accounts of reciprocal segments.¹

Whereas the existence of communities, churches, lodges, has been taken for granted, this viewpoint necessitates the inductive study of human beings and their behavior to one another before the nature of human groupings can be stated.

THE VALUE OF AN INDIVIDUALISTIC STUDY OF HUMAN GROUPINGS

To date, although many studies have been bristling with valid information in the sense proposed by Dr. Allport, no study has ever been attempted of human groupings as they occur naturally. The Syracuse Reaction Study gave many evidences of certain characteristics of groupings in this sense, but as yet no studies have been made of groupings including all of the individuals who participate in the multi-individual situations we label church, lodge, school and party.²

Such a study would obviously be of value in comparative methodology as it could be contrasted with accounts where the nature of groupings has been taken for granted and studied as such. The possibilities of both methods would be revealed and the advantage of either method in disclosing facts missed by the other might be seen.

Finally, a study of individuals possesses an advantage to other studies of the past in that, although it may be at one level, also, it is concerned with a subject matter concerning which scientists

¹ Commonly, the layman's concept of a built-up habit means the same thing as attitude except attitudes and habits are conserved in structural changes and not in a mystical storehouse, the mind. Just as a rebent blade alters the flight of a boomerang so a lowered threshold to a reflex arc theoretically alters the behavior of an individual. An attitude is a disposition to act which exists as a more or less generalized neural "set."

² Giddings in the *Scientific Study of Human Society* says, "Do not deceive yourself with the notion that you can understand your town, your nation, etc., until you have the patience to learn what it is."

are daily building up vast accounts of experimental data. Much of this data may some day contribute to our knowledge of human behavior in groups. Even at the present time such experimentation as we have from the physiology laboratories has considerable value for studies of relationships of individuals with each other which vanishes when the same problems are approached from some supra-individual level.

There are several studies that offer considerable suggestion as to techniques of study, for attention has been centered upon the study of attitudes in late years. The principal methods of study have been the interview and the questionnaire. A great mass of material exists upon the technique of the interview in research, in personnel administration, psychological clinics and social case studies. The suggestions of various articles have been found to be very helpful. For the most part the questionnaire techniques most significant in related problems have been few. The principal quantitative techniques for the study of attitude variables have been presented in a pioneer study by Allport and Hartman and in studies by L. L. Thurstone; S. A. Rice; Allport, Katz and Babcock; and Vetter.

This study attempts to continue the methods built up in these studies. In the pioneer study of Allport and Hartman,¹ the authors indicated the worth of discovering the distribution of their subjects on attitude variables where the steps were perhaps unequal, but correctly allocated. Thurstone refined attitude scales to give steps of equal distance making possible measurement.² Vetter has suggested a method of checking for correct allocation of steps when the refined methods of Thurstone are unusable.³ The Syracuse Reaction Study⁴ has pointed out the validity of questionnaire study when care is taken to determine the information sought, the wording of the questions and the

¹ Allport, F. H., Hartman, D. A. A technique for measurement and analysis of public opinion. *American Sociological Publications*, 1926, 32, 241.

² Thurstone, L. L. Attitudes can be measured. *American Journal of Sociology*, 33, 529.

³ Vetter, George B. The study of social and political opinions. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1930, 1 and 2, 26-39, 149-189.

⁴ Katz and Allport. *Student Attitudes*. Syracuse: Craftsman Press, 1931.

interpretation of the results. It has also attempted attitude study on a large scale.

The latter study has also pointed out an important factor in the study of attitudes. Whereas some have conceived of attitudes as only a reflection of a "real man" in the sense that an attitude pictured ". . . a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions about any specified topic," the Reaction Study has pointed out that, although an individual may have motives out of harmony with perhaps more characteristic drives, these motives, such as rationalizations, if often utilized, are just as important in understanding the individual as more prepotent motivation. These characteristic rationalizations have been termed partial motivation. Where other attitude studies have abandoned rationalization as faulty results in attempts to get "real" attitudes, this study utilizes both types of attitudes in predicting behavior in situations where students of attitudes in the first sense have admitted the limitation of their concept in inability to predict.¹

METHODS OF THIS STUDY

This study attempts to continue the methods devised in previous attitude studies. A different situation, however, seemed to exist in regard to institutional attitudes particularly, which demanded an addition to these techniques. In the early days of the study the investigator followed the usual method establishing intimate relationships with the people to be studied.² As this study progressed it became evident that, although material gathered according to this technique is necessary if one is to understand the people in their community relationships, it is wholly lacking in an element that is imperative if the totality of pluralistic situations that occur are to be understood. It was found that some attitudes given in complete candor to the investigator by

¹ L. L. Thurstone, *op. cit.*

² Lynd in *Middletown* says "Such questioning coming at the close of many months of close contact with these men elicited what is believed to have been almost complete frankness of response."

individuals who were intimate friends, actually failed to find outlet in overt expression in community situations while other attitudes that seemed to be held only superficially completely dominated in certain situations.

It seemed unfortunate to conceive of attitudes as reflections of a real man and of other behavior inconsistent with the described attitudes as being the result of poor techniques causing rationalization, falsehood, etc. It would seem that if one is to understand the totality of situations that occur in complex social life there must be, added to the integrated attitudes (the real man), the partial motivations and also the characteristic public attitudes. These seem as important in the social situations observed as the more integrated attitudes of an individual with which they were often in contradiction.

The Baptist preacher, for instance, who was a warm friend and frequent visitor at the home of the investigator, possessed a multitude of liberal attitudes on religion which were inhibited in every situation in Elm Hollow except in his relationships with the investigator. A knowledge of these liberal and intimate attitudes, however, revealed very little of his actual behavior in Sunday church services. Any stranger stopping at his door with a questionnaire would have obtained a more accurate account of his attitudes that actually function in community situations than the intimate accounts known to the investigator.

It seemed that if one is to understand human groupings two relationships of individuals to stimuli must be considered. In other studies the attitudes sought were often regarding issues about which the individual could only verbalize his position on a ballot. This is true in attitudes toward the tariff or the League of Nations. In such studies there was little reason for expressions that were a result of other than solely social factors. In this study the attitudes toward the church often had a definite relationship to the rest of the individual's life and demanded evaluation with other attitudes and drives. As a result individuals seemed to possess two possible attitudes to apparently the same stimulus. The Baptist preacher, for instance, was privately and personally liberal in his religious views because such a viewpoint fitted more

perfectly into his personality; other relationships in the community, both economic and social, made it necessary for him to maintain a semblance of fundamentalism in his public life in the community.

For the purpose of this study those attitudes which an individual was willing to give wide publication in this community, and which may be obtained with methods which do not demand any particular rapport with the subject, are called "public attitudes" and those gained in intimate relationships "private attitudes."¹ It is, of course, possible that in the case of two public responses one may be more widely admitted than the other. No response adequately pictures an attitude. It is assumed that the term "public attitude" refers to a mean of totality of public responses and "private" to a mean of totality of private responses. It should be pointed out that attitudes seldom clearly picture responses as they occur in real situations with the multitudinous contributory stimuli that present themselves. Sherrington, in his "Integrative Action of the Nervous System" has given us a picture of the process of adjustment of the individual organism in a world calling forth many habits, both antagonistic and facilitating at the same time. Such a picture indicates the futility of attempting, except in laboratory conditions, to find single isolated responses to pure stimuli.

The experience of this study was that it would be difficult to classify responses as purely cultural or purely non-cultural because the response seems to be a hopeless mixture of both elements. However, at the level of the attitude it is possible to distinguish between two habits as they exist as pure sets to response. In other words, it is theoretically possible to take a response that is the result of the stimulation of many habit systems and show the various elements in the pure state that made up the integrated response. It was the experience of this study that individuals could distinguish between their attitudes, for instance, toward Mr. Fagson as the preacher and as a personality, although their responses were generally integrations of both elements, as well

¹ Most of the lives of these people were spent within the community.

as many other attitudes. Thus, in a church situation one individual who participated very vigorously in the ritual service explains that he is not tremendously a believer in this part of the service, but that he is a very warm friend of the pastor who holds this part of the ritual very dear, so as a result, he attempts to do more than his part.¹

The question may be asked, "If responses are seldom pure, why study attitudes?" The answer is that a knowledge of pure attitude contributes a great deal to understanding any variation that occurs and enables us to see the stimulating factors that caused the change as well as to observe any features of the response that remained unchanged in the face of the additional contributory habits called forth.

Inasmuch as attitudes are purely implicit at best, the validity of these concepts depends upon how well they explain the facts observed. Most articles on the techniques of securing attitudes have been concerned with methods that seem calculated to secure private attitudes, although it is obvious from their content that often public attitudes were really desired. Little recognition has been given to the fact that public attitudes may be just as imperative in explaining social behavior as intimate attitudes.

Many factors enter into the problem of securing these attitudes. One of the problems is the personality of the investigator and its effect on his results. The realistic personality may result in private attitudes where an institutionalized person is likely to secure public attitudes. Questions stated in one fashion result in private attitudes while another brings public attitudes. Interviewing in situations with many people present is likely to result in public attitudes and yet the mere presence of one particular individual of the community may have the same result.

Inasmuch as a great deal of the information of this thesis had to be secured by indirect methods when public attitudes were sought, the investigator attempted to secure public settings for

¹ This illustrates the difficulty of studying responses as Kantor does, for responses are so very complex. At the level of the attitude, however, the cultural and non-cultural attitudes can be delineated. We doubt very much that this can be done at the response level. See Kantor, *Social Psychology*, Chicago: Follett & Co., p. 205.

questions by phrasing or by implying the information was for publication. Once the problem was recognized it was not difficult of solution.

Securing private attitudes has always been difficult. Investigators have been freely informed of public attitudes but have been inclined to dismiss them as worthless. Consequently most of the attention has been directed toward securing private attitudes. Good fellowship tactics have been stressed in this type of interview. Confidence has to be gained by more than mere introduction. It is gained by participation in the work of the people of the community and by entering into their activities. Joining local organizations, for instance, seemed to open doors of confidence. The investigator joined one church, his wife joined the other. Both enrolled in lodges. The investigator voted the Democratic primaries and his wife the Republican. All these movements seemed to bear fruit in good results.

Also, and perhaps due to the rural situation, confidence seemed to be placed in wearing plain clothes. An old suit and a blue shirt indicated the investigator's intention of becoming a part of the community.

Fourthly, it was necessary to be a good listener and a poor repeater. A knowledge of gossip is a successful way of indicating that one "belongs" and establishes rapport, but it is safe only to use traditional gossip. The acknowledged laziest man in town may be called lazy and it indicates only that one has obtained knowledge already possessed by others, but to spread gossip that is new immediately makes an individual dangerous and closes avenues of information.

In the fifth place, friendships resulted from trade. A few dollars for potatoes or apples opened many contacts. At the same time it would seem when the price is paid for goods and services and not for information there is no attempt to fictionize for the pay.

Last of all, time itself was the most effective means of establishing rapport leading to private attitudes. At the end of the first year suspicious attitudes were disappearing and the

everyday contact of neighbor with neighbor is perhaps the most effective way of getting private attitudes, although it is admittedly time consuming.

THE USE OF ALLPORT'S "OUTLINES FOR THE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF AN INDIVIDUAL"

As a general plan for this investigation it was hoped to persuade each individual to fill out in some detail Allport's "Outline for the Study of the Social Relationships of an Individual."¹ The investigator succeeded in getting over sixty people to fill it out in detail. With the majority the information had to be picked up piecemeal. From this information it was hoped that clues would be given to important attitudes in community relationships.

EVALUATION OF DATA

Next to the problem of getting information was the problem of evaluation of that data which was obtained. In order to see the significance of the many conversations that ordinarily take place in the situations of daily life, a scientific scrutiny must be maintained. In the process of adjustment to the grocer as a man who sells meat and potatoes one may lose much of the significance of his words and actions in a scientific sense. At the same time, if the scientific attitude so possesses the investigator that he fails to respond in a natural manner many responses will be missed. So many social relationships are circular that the investigator almost needs a dual personality in order to stimulate the ordinary behavior and at the same time record it. No doubt many interesting facts have been missed in this study.

The only methods of testing the validity of this data in addition to the maintenance of careful methods are generally called tests of internal reliability. Thus, the appearance of certain consistencies of attitudes among individuals who belonged to one group, which were completely lacking among those who belonged to another grouping, seems to speak for the reliability of the data. A consistent difference between two groupings, whether ration-

¹ Allport, F. H. *Outline for the Study of the Social Relationships of an Individual*. Chicago: C. H. Stoelting Co.

alization, falsehood, or truth should be of interest to the student of social relationships.

By presenting attitude scales, methods of checking for internal reliability were increased. Where there were not crude qualitative differences between members of groupings, a scale with sufficient range often resulted in very different distributions of attitudes.

The effects of positive suggestion on the part of the investigator are hard to check in the interview. Much of this material, however, falls completely into the experience of the ordinary human being. It is so usual that one often judges it to be insignificant.

STATISTICAL TREATMENT

This study was limited arbitrarily to a community. It could, if one had no regard for time or labor, have as well taken the state, county or township. At the outset of the study there obtruded from a haze of information the fact that people had certain ideas of being members of groupings. The statistical method of this investigation consisted of two steps. A number of people were examined to find differences in the possession of the idea of belonging to a particular group. Then those with the selected ideological factor were compared with those without, in regard to possession of other attitudes.

Inasmuch as this was an analytical study and all cases of certain classes were examined, certain information is acceptable without any attempt to assign reliability to the data as a sample. Whenever possible, however, as this study was especially interested in methodology, presentations which indicate the possibilities of using these techniques in other problems and which show the methods of presenting social facts statistically, are used.

In a problem of this kind in which established methods are not already available, simple methods are often necessary for the primary studies although the crude statement may some day give way to a more refined treatment. Thus, some data are dichotomized. Yule says we can treat the presence or absence

of an attribute as "corresponding to a variable which can possess two values, say 0 and 1." This does not mean that the material can never be treated by the ordinary statistics of variables, but that for the present, because of lack of measuring sticks an arbitrary boundary line assigning facts to one another of two divisions is chosen. Black and white may eventually give way to black, blackish gray, gray, grayish white and white; but for a simple beginning the two divisions are very helpful.¹ The method of dichotomy seemed particularly suitable, however, inasmuch as the group seemed to have a natural division line. Where scales could be devised data were treated as having more than two values, although still representing qualitative differences. The primitive nature of the methods and perhaps of the actual material, often prevents the treatment of facts in ways that are possible when means are present for establishing the equality of the scale intervals. As a result data presented in bar diagrams indicate the direction of the tendency but do not imply measurement.

The fact that we are dealing with attributes and not variables makes it necessary to use simple tests for association. Thus the proportion of one group of individuals checking one step in a series of steps is compared with the proportion of another group checking the same step. The significance of this difference is

tested by the formula $S^2_{12} = \frac{P_1 Q_1}{N_1} + \frac{P_2 Q_2}{N_2}$. In this

formula P equals the proportion of the group checking the step and Q the remainder of the group. $P + Q = 100\%$. N equals the number of cases in the particular sample used. Differences between two groups in the proportion of the number checking a particular step are generally regarded as significant when they are three times their S.E.²

The search for associated attitudes was not as difficult as it

¹ In either case this process is essentially one of counting. In the case of scales, although the attitudes have been more finely discriminated, the procedure is to count those possessing this degree of attitude. See Yule, G. U., *Introduction to Statistics*, London: Chas. Griffin & Co., p. 1 ff.

² Yule, prev. cit., p. 269.

might seem. When the individuals studied were questioned regarding groupings they tended to retreat toward a description of specific attitudes toward people and things. In order to see the relationship between their ideas of belonging to groups and other attitudes, individuals with the ideology are compared with those without that factor on the same attitude scales.

CHAPTER I

DEFINITION OF A COMMUNITY

Scientific problems are very often found as a result of scrutiny of facts which in the processes of everyday life we have accepted without question. In the practical sense, human groupings are accepted uncritically at an early age. We speak of school, church, club, etc., without thought as to the meaning of the words we use. Our neighbor seems to understand for we make appointments to see him in distant cities. Business people seem to understand for we pay bills in the name of a church utilizing money authorized by a government. In fact, we live on with extraordinary success in a world of adjustment to our fellows in terms of these ideas.

The significance of this adjustment is fully admitted for the student of human affairs, although not content with the hazy differences of a lay mind in its adjustment to the world about it, must not discount the fact that all people are not scientists in attitude. Although it is quite evident that the man on the street finds such words a convenient means of communication without further analysis, scientific method is not fully served if the groupings are then taken for granted and efforts bent to differentiate one group from another or to describe what each does.

This study proposed an attempt to observe and analyze whatever facts could be found at the individual level that seemed to correlate with the ideas that people have about the groupings of a community. Such a study promised to constitute a complicated problem. It was advisable to take as simple conditions as could be found, and practical experience argued that a small community, remote from the complex life of the city would be most effectively studied. For this reason the study was conducted near and in the settlement of "Elm Hollow"¹ on the post road between Syracuse and Waupon. The settlement is less than fifty miles from the nearest city of any size, with no bus connections and

¹ Due to the personal nature of most of these data it has been necessary to use fictitious names for people and places. The factual relationships, however, are true.

only a freight railway. Automobile and horse and buggy are practically the only modes of transportation. The existence of the community in the practical sense, in the ideas of the people, does not presuppose anything about the nature of the Elm Hollow groupings. Many scientific problems are found in the telic world. The only admitted fact here is the existence of people, some with and some without certain ideas of a community. The criterion by which they were picked was continued presence in the vicinity of the buildings known as the Elm Hollow settlement. Just who they were and what methods of study were used is set forth in the following pages.

IDEOLOGY OF A COMMUNITY

It has been pointed out that the contemplated limits of this study were to be the human groupings of a community as known in the sense of everyday telic adjustment. Inasmuch as a community has never been defined by an inductive process in terms of individuals only, the first purpose of this investigation was to see what existed at that level that might correspond with the practical idea of a community.

The presence of ideology regarding a community was very evident. It was also obvious that some people looked upon themselves as being "outsiders" or people who did not belong to the community, while others looked upon themselves as being a part of the community. The method of this part of the study, as related in the chapter on method, was to take those people who possessed this idea, the idea of belonging to the community, and submit them to examination in search for factors that show association with either the possession of or absence of the ideology.

Several expressions were used to indicate a somewhat similar relationship to a community. As it might seem possible that some individuals might look upon themselves as belonging to more than one community, as in the case of a certain individual who worked at Holdridge and resided in Elm Hollow, or to no community at all, as in the case of a man who travels for the Standard Oil Company most of the time but who has a mother

in this community, a scale was devised to show certain possibilities that might test the validity of dividing people into groups according to the possession or lack of possession of the ideological factor. It allowed people to classify themselves as possessing the ideology in varying degrees. Table 1, shows the distribution:

TABLE 1

Distribution of 319 Individuals Studied Regarding Relative Degree of Possession of Ideology of "Belonging In" Elm Hollow

I think of myself as belonging in:	No.	Per cent
1. Elm Hollow only	193	60.50
2. Elm Hollow principally but in a slight degree to X....	30	9.40
3. Elm Hollow and X in equal degrees.....	8	2.50
4. X principally but in a slight degree to Elm Hollow....	17	5.32
5. X only.....	71	22.25
	319	99.97

X being some other community or no community.

The few cases in the middle steps shown in the preceding table shows how little injustice can be done by creating a dichotomy that assigns individuals of steps 1, 2 and 3 and those of 4, and 5 to two groups that are characterized as possessing or lacking the idea of "belonging in Elm Hollow." Dichotomous division is always uncertain, but the extreme bimodal tendencies in this case seem to indicate a very natural division. The two groups thus created will be called, according to the usual statistical representation, the group with the E factor and the group with the e factor, or those with and those lacking the ideology. There are 231 individuals in the first group and 88 in the second.¹

COMPARISON OF THE SPACE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE Two GROUPS

The idea that a community had spatial characteristics was common. People spoke of "over at" Elm Hollow, of Elm Hollow as being the center of the township, etc. Elm Hollow is also spoken of as being 1,300 feet above sea level, as having a short growing season, a good water supply and many days of sunshine to the year. Obviously all of these factors are

¹ It should be noted that if only those who are considered as possessing the ideology are considered the distribution is essentially J-shaped.

geographic. It was decided to see if any description of individual relationships might shed light on any of these ideas.

It would have been possible, no doubt, to have arranged a study of each individual in terms of a time chart showing the amount of time spent in a certain geographical area during a certain period. Such a method, however, demanded in this case more time and coöperation of the subjects than the investigator felt could be demanded. In view of the fact that it would seem reasonable to assume that the time an individual spends at his dwelling place and at his place of occupation, cover a good share of the day's hours, it seemed possible that a statement of the locus of these and similar activities might be used to aid in the differentiation of the community grouping from other groupings. It is obvious that by dwelling and working, a complex of habits is referred to that might differ considerably in each individual studied; but there seemed enough similarity to serve the present purpose. Gross qualitative differences were sought that would make possible the definition of a community.

COMPARISONS OF THE TWO GROUPS IN TERMS OF PLACE OF DWELLING

Individuals were asked to check the relative distance of their place of dwelling from a fixed point. The building used as a post office was picked for this point. Table 2 shows the distribution.

TABLE 2
Showing the Locus of Dwelling Habits of the Two Groups

	E		e	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1. One-quarter mile from P.O.	151	65.36	6	6.82
2. One-half mile from P.O.	44	19.04	18	20.45
3. Three-quarters mile from P.O.	16	6.92	21	23.86
4. One mile from P.O.	10	4.32	19	21.59
5. Beyond a mile from P.O.	10	4.32	24	27.27
	231	99.96	88	99.99

The difference between the two groups in respect to the locus of the dwelling habits of the individuals on step 1 equals 58.54 per cent or almost fourteen times the S.E. of the difference.¹

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .042.

**COMPARISON OF THE LOCUS OF THE OCCUPATIONAL
HABITS OF THE TWO GROUPS**

People were questioned regarding their place of occupation. This classification included housewives and school boys as well as laborers, business men, farmers and professional men. Individuals were asked to check the distance of their usual place of occupation from the same point designated in the case of dwelling. Table 3 shows the distribution.

TABLE 3
Showing the Locus of Occupational Habits of the Two Groups

	E		e	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1. One-quarter mile from P.O.	132	57.14	8	9.09
2. One-half mile from P.O.	57	24.68	25	28.41
3. Three-quarters mile from P.O.	16	6.92	13	14.77
4. One mile from P.O.	11	4.76	12	13.64
5. Beyond a mile from P.O.	15	6.49	30	34.09
	231	99.99	88	100.00

The difference between the two groups on step 1 equals 48.05 per cent, or almost eleven times the S.E. of the difference.¹

**COMPARISON OF THE LOCUS OF TRADING ACTIVITIES
OF THE TWO GROUPS**

Although comparatively little time of the average individual is taken up in the process of trade, it is interesting to note the places of trade of the various individuals studied. Trade is largely a family activity and no attempt has been made to discuss the nature of the family in this thesis; consequently, when trading is

TABLE 4
Locus of Trading Activities of the Two Groups

Do the majority of trading :	E		e	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1. Within one-quarter mile of P.O.	207	89.61	22	25.00
2. Within one-half mile of P.O. ....	..	..	..	..
3. Within three-quarters mile of P.O. ....	..	..	..	..
4. Within one mile of P.O.	5	2.16	28	31.82
5. Beyond one mile of P.O.	19	8.22	38	43.18
	231	99.99	88	100.00

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .044.

referred to as a function of an individual it is partially inexact. However, it does give some light on a community without going into the nature of a family. Table 4 shows the distribution.

The difference between the two groups on step 1 is equal to 64.61 per cent, or over thirteen times the S.E.¹

COMPARISON OF THE LOCUS OF ATTENDANCE AT GROUP MEETINGS OF THE TWO GROUPS

After examining the trading places, occupational and dwelling habits and their spatial relationships it is interesting also to compare the attendance of the two groups at regular group meeting places such as lodge halls, church and Sunday school buildings, school-board meetings and school exercises at the school house. Table 5 shows the distribution.

TABLE 5
Showing the Difference between the Two Groups Regarding the Locus of Attendance at Group Meetings

Majority of meetings attended:	E		e	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1. Within one-quarter mile of P.O.	221	95.67	19	21.59
2. Within one-half mile of P.O. ....	..	..	..	..
3. Within three-quarters mile of P.O. ....	..	..	..	..
4. Within one mile of P.O. ....	..	..	..	..
5. Beyond one mile of P.O.	10	4.32	69	78.41
	231	99.99	88	100.00

The differences in this respect are also significant. The difference on step 1 is 74.08, or over 16 times the S.E.²

SUMMARY OF THE SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE ACTIVITIES OF INDIVIDUALS WITH THE E FACTOR

A review of the locus of the named activities of the individuals of the first group reveals an evident relationship between the possession of the idea of belonging to the community and to the occupation of a certain territory. In view of the fact that the named activities approximate a good share of the day's time and there is indirect evidence to infer that the majority of individuals

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .049.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .045.

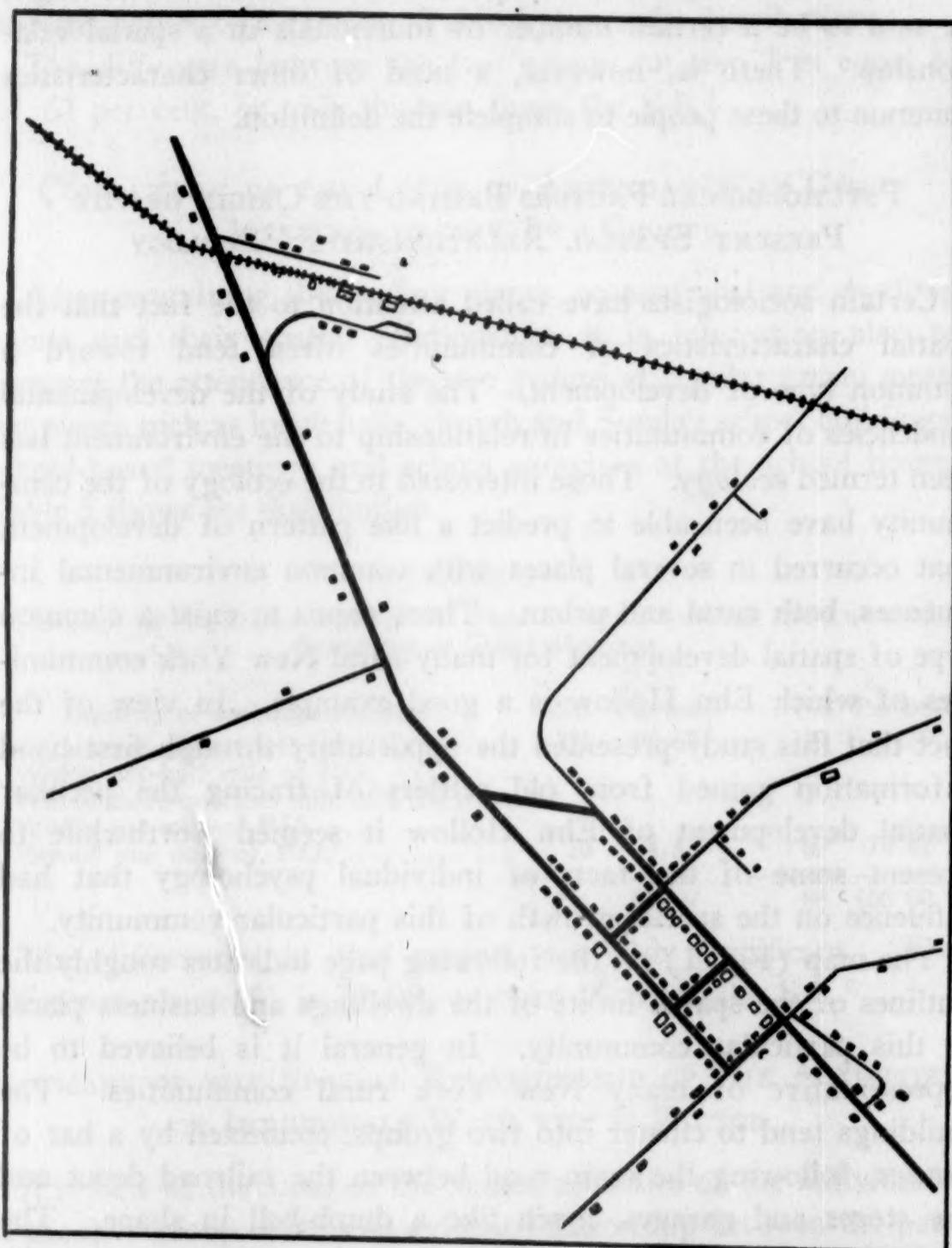
also carry on recreational activities of diverse kinds within the same spatial limits, a community, in the individual sense, might be said to be a certain number of individuals in a spatial relationship. There is, however, a need of other characteristics common to these people to complete the definition.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS BEHIND THE ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS: ECOLOGY

Certain sociologists have called attention to the fact that the spatial characteristics of communities often tend toward a common type of development. The study of the developmental tendencies of communities in relationship to the environment has been termed *ecology*. Those interested in the ecology of the community have been able to predict a like pattern of development that occurred in several places with common environmental influences, both rural and urban. There seems to exist a common type of spatial development for many rural New York communities of which Elm Hollow is a good example. In view of the fact that this study presented the opportunity through first hand information gained from old settlers of tracing the peculiar spatial development of Elm Hollow it seemed worthwhile to present some of the facts of individual psychology that had influence on the spatial growth of this particular community.

The map (Fig. 1) on the following page indicates roughly the outlines of the spatial limits of the dwellings and business places in this particular community. In general it is believed to be representative of many New York rural communities. The buildings tend to cluster into two groups, connected by a bar of houses, following the main road between the railroad depot and the stores and garages, much like a dumb-bell in shape. The larger grouping of houses is generally designated on maps as the village, while the smaller grouping is called the station. Both are obviously of the same community. Witness the names, Allentown and Allentown Station, Ontario and Ontario Station, etc., on the hilly parts of a map of New York, separating groups of houses only some half or quarter of a mile apart.

MAP OF ELM HOLLOW COMMUNITY



Map showing the dwelling places and places of occupation of the majority of individuals with the E factor. The tendency toward two clusters of buildings, one near and one away from the r.r. is noted. Squares represent places of business, while dots represent homes.

In the case of this community the reasons for this type of development seems easily explained. The reasons back of the choice

of the original sites that later developed into the community expanse is rather obvious. In the early days the chief means of procuring power was a waterfall and the chief type of food was flour. Therefore, one principal building in the early settlements was a grist mill, which was generally located in the valley at the end of a considerable drop in a stream that could furnish sufficient water power. In Elm Hollow other industries including a furniture factory, engine works and knitting mill grew up in the vicinity of the grist mill, all these employing many laborers. The laborers, naturally enough, built their homes in the valley, adjacent to these industries.

There came a time when steam power gave the towns more accessible to cities an advantage over local industry. The engine works moved away. The knitting mill burned and was never rebuilt. The furniture factory survived although sorely affected by the influx of Grand Rapids furniture in the 1880's. The mill alone prospered.

Shortly after this time a railroad company decided to run a line through this territory. Engineers found that to go through the village would result in two steep grades, a descent into the village and a climb out; therefore, they decided to locate the right of way on a more level grade on the hillside a quarter of a mile away.

The feed mill people felt that it would be profitable to buy grain by the carload in the west and grind it to different grades for the poultry farms near New York City. Consequently the necessity of being near the railroad caused them to move to the railroad station. In these days of electricity water power was no longer an eminent factor. Consequently, they juked their water power plant and opened an electric power driven mill at the station. The Borden's Milk Company opened a milk factory beside this. A few houses sprang up in the vicinity of the new plants. For the most part, however, inasmuch as the settlement was decreasing in population, there was an abundance of untenanted houses at low rentals and most of the laborers chose to walk the distance rather than undergo the expense of erecting a new dwelling at

the station. Thus we have the dumb-bell arrangement referred to previously, but with one bell more fully developed than the other: the larger one the village, the smaller one the station.

In studying the spatial development of this community certain trends are evident. First, the order of development of electricity, steam and waterpower depend upon human invention, which is of course the work of individuals. The psychology of invention has been stressed at length by psychologists. The coming of the railroad appears in a certain relationship to these other inventions. The altering of this order would have materially affected the development of the community spatially. It is not the present purpose to deal with these factors.

In the instance of Elm Hollow there are certain other events depending even less upon the coöperative efforts of men and their relationships in society in general. When the railroad decided to run near Elm Hollow the village folk were told that a certain amount of financial assistance would be expected from them, otherwise the railroad would choose to run their line through Bucktown, a town not far from Elm Hollow and in the general direction of the route to be taken by the railroad. The Elm Hollow people raised the money, but the greater part of it was a donation by John Cole the owner of the food mill. If it had not been for his donation it is not likely that Elm Hollow would ever have seen a railroad. If the railroad had not come the present spatial pattern of development would have been different. After the railroad was built the motive for Cole's gift was more apparent. He and some associates organized a wholesale feed mill, secured grain from the West in carload lots, ground it at Elm Hollow into different grades of feed and shipped it to the vicinity of New York City. It proved a successful business venture and was the forerunner of the present million dollar business.

The removal of the engine works to Chicago and the building of a new feed mill and milk factory were only a few years apart. Had the new industries come before the removal of the first named, there would have been insufficient empty homes for the additional help required by the new industries and the development at the station, no doubt, would have included many more

houses. Consequently, this spatial development is in part a result of the decision of the engine company head to move. It is interesting to hear the reason that the town fathers give for his decision at this time. It seems that Mr. Mills, the chief owner, died about this time and his son, Willis Mills, inherited the business. The son had married a Chicago girl and had started a Western branch of the factory. At the death of his father the younger Mills felt that too long a journey was involved in supervising both plants. In view of the fact that water power was no longer an essential factor in cheap production he decided to move to Chicago.

It is easy to see that although the ecological approach does give a sort of crude prediction ability about development of communities in relationship to the environment, a knowledge of individual psychology gives an insight to the ecological approach that can not be denied, and, if the exception to the rule is to be understood as well as the regular occurrence, an individualistic approach is imperative.

OTHER FACTORS THAT ASSOCIATE WITH COMMUNITY IDEOLOGY

Although spatial relationship of individuals seems a necessary part of a concept of a community, it is not implied that these are the only relationships that exist in the behavior of the individuals with the E factor. Another implication of the idea of a community is fraternity. People speak of "living in" the community. If there existed walls within which the dwelling places of these people stood the idea would be simply explained. In the absence of walls or even village limits defined in laws, the idea of "in" becomes less explicable. This was an unincorporated village, one is told. It had no defined limits. "In" in this sense seemed to refer to human relationships of association in fraternity. It was pointed out that the possibility of a consolidated school had a disadvantage to the community in that it would bring "into the community" the children's diseases of other communities. People objected to a small community on the grounds that gossip traveled so fast and so completely "in" a small place. It was said that a certain woman need not think that her "airs" and "high manners" would get her anywhere "in" Elm Hollow.

The exact nature and significance of this ideology regarding a community can not be fully treated at this time, but will be dealt with at the conclusion of this study. It is interesting, however, at the beginning of this study to see certain common attitudes; ideas, knowledge of history, gossip, behavior in regard to common problems, etc., that imply fraternity.

COMMON IDEAS OF THE E INDIVIDUALS

Historical folklore, gossip, news, statement of happenings seemed more common to the individuals with the E factor than among the others. From a mass of legend and facts of historical occurrences, of statements of happenings of the present day, gossip, etc., several statements most often heard were selected. The questionnaire is not given in this published account in view of the fact that many items were of a personal nature.¹ This pruned account was then submitted to 70 people of the E and 49 of the e groupings. They were asked to check those items which were familiar to them. Table 6 shows the distribution of the two groups.

TABLE 6
Difference between the Two Groups in Familiarity with Questionnaire Items

		E		e	
	No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent
1. 0- 25 per cent	3	4.29		40	81.63
2. 25- 50 per cent	16	22.86		6	12.24
3. 50- 75 per cent	39	55.71		3	6.12
4. 75-100 per cent	12	17.14		..	..
	70	100.00		49	99.99

The difference between the two groups on step 3 equals 49.59 per cent, or over seven times the S.E. The other differences with the exception of step 2 are almost equally significant.²

COMMON ACQUAINTANCESHIP OF THE INDIVIDUALS WITH THE E FACTOR

Finally, each individual was asked to state how many he knew of the individuals named on a list, which included all those with

¹ These items may be seen in the original Ph.D. thesis at Syracuse University.

² S.E. of the difference equals .068.

the E factor. This meant how many individuals one could call acquaintances to a greater degree than just knowing names. Table 7 shows the distribution.

TABLE 7

Difference between Two Groups in Acquaintance with Individuals with the E Factor

	E		e	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1. 0- 25 per cent	3	2.56	31	83.78
2. 25- 50 per cent	5	4.27	4	10.80
3. 50- 75 per cent	25	21.55	1	2.70
4. 75-100 per cent	83	71.55	1	2.70
	116	99.93	37	99.98

The most significant differences occur on steps 3 and 4. On step 4 the difference is 68.85 per cent, or over thirteen times the S.E. of the difference.¹

PRELIMINARY DEFINITION OF A COMMUNITY

In this preliminary definition of a community, the chief purpose was to limit this study. A further discussion of the nature of the community as it is seen in the individualistic sense will be found at the conclusion. So far it has been seen that the possession of the ideology of belonging to the community seems to be associated with a tendency toward dwelling, carrying on an occupation, trading, and attending meetings in a certain geographical area. These people and the spatial relationships described will comprise the grouping to be studied, and will be known as the community. That other processes may be characteristic of people in such a spatial relationship seems evident. We find the individuals tending to occupy the space within the limits described possessing common ideas and common attitudes and being commonly acquainted. These facts may be seen in clearer perspective when other intra-community groupings of the community are discussed.

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .048.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY

This is fundamentally a study of people, in an attempt to discover the relationships between individual and individual that give rise to the ideology of belonging to groups and to a community as being composed of groups. Such facts as age, sex, nationality, national stock, income, and personality traits, although only indirectly applying to the central problem, are important nevertheless, for the attitudes about to be studied must exist in some degree of integrated relationship with whole systems of reactive possibilities.

Altogether, two hundred and thirty-one individuals were taken as members of the community in the preceding definition. It is impossible in this study to treat of the nature of their nationality, or of their relationship to movements as Catholicism and Protestantism, although these items seem to be principally psychological in nature. People were classified according to their statement as native or foreign born, Welsh or Scotch in stock, etc., with no attempt to analyze the meaning of these classifications. The tables given present the distribution in terms of a percentage of the total number.

A. SEX

The distribution of sexes was studied. Table 8 shows the distribution.

TABLE 8
Distribution by Sexes

	No.	Per cent
Male	110	47.62
Female	121	52.38
	231	100.00

B. AGE

This study made no attempt to study children, although some description is given of their place in the dynamic relationships

of the community in the last part of this study. Table 9 shows the distribution.

TABLE 9
Distribution by Ages of Adults

	No.	Per cent
20-29 years.....	23	9.95
30-39 "	56	24.24
40-49 "	58	25.10
50-59 "	53	22.94
60-69 "	23	9.95
70-79 "	12	5.19
80-89 "	3	1.29
90-99 "	3	1.29
	231	99.95

C. BIRTHPLACE

Table 10 shows the distribution in terms of places of birth, whether native (U. S.) or foreign born.

TABLE 10
Distribution by Places of Birth

	No.	Per cent
Native.....	218	94.37
Foreign.....	13	5.62
	231	99.99

D. VOCATION

People were listed according to vocation. The classes are self explanatory. The distribution is seen in Table 11.

E. NATIONAL STOCK

People were asked to name their national stock up to four nationalities. The distribution is seen in Table 12.

F. PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC

Broad religious differences were also sought, regarding religious sympathies. Table 13 shows the distribution.

G. POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATIONS

People were asked to name their Party preference. Table 14 shows the distribution.

TABLE 11
Distribution by Vocations

	No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent
Housewives	87	37.66	Prof. People		
Farmers	42	18.18	1. Teachers	11	
Business People			2. Preachers	2	
1. Mill owners	3		3. Barbers	2	
2. Bookkeepers	2		4. Pharmacists	2	
3. Stenographers	2		5. Nurse	1	
4. Grocers	2				
5. Grocery clerks	3		Total	18	7.79
6. Garage men	2		Misc.		
7. Blacksmiths	2		1. Handymen	6	
8. Milkman	1		2. Carpenters	3	
9. Ins. agents	2		3. Cabinet makers	3	
10. Postmaster	1		4. Painters and paper hangers	3	
11. Postal clerk	1		5. Station agent	1	
12. Salesmen	4		6. Section men	2	
	—		7. Road workers	5	
Total	25	11.25	8. Teamsters	2	
Laborers at mill	20	8.25	9. Washwoman	1	
			10. Librarian	1	
			11. Cooks	2	
			12. Janitors	2	
			13. Dependents	6	
			Total	39	16.87
			Total—231		

TABLE 12
Distribution by Ancestries

	No.	Per cent
English	176	38.51
Welsh	90	19.69
Scotch	52	11.37
Irish	38	8.31
French	24	5.25
Canadian	18	3.53
German	8	1.75
Miscellaneous	51	11.59
	457	100.00

TABLE 13
Distribution by Religious Sympathies

	No.	Per cent
Protestant	179	77.50
Catholic	23	9.95
No preference	29	12.55
	231	100.00

TABLE 14
Distribution by Party Preferences

	No.	Per cent
Republican	161	69.69
Democratic	33	14.28
No preference	37	16.01
	231	99.98

H. INCOME

It was impossible to get complete figures on income. The estimate of several people who knew almost everybody in the community would indicate a range of income among community people from \$100 a year to an amount in excess of \$5,000, and perhaps running as high as \$10,000. There would seem to be six individuals in the community having incomes above \$2,500. About fifteen individuals, or 6 per cent, were estimated to earn amount in excess of \$1,500 and up to \$2,500. The remaining individuals of the community would seem to be living on \$1,500 a year, or less. It was estimated that the income of the average man in the community was about \$900 a year. Over 46 per cent of the adults of the community are housewives, or other adults with no income.

CHAPTER III

INSTITUTIONAL INTRA-COMMUNITY GROUPINGS

In a limited study, it is impossible to describe all of the aspects of any community grouping or to build up by a description of individual attitudes any exact approximation to the concept which the man on the street has of the groups to which he feels he belongs. It is only hoped that the following description will produce a picture of some of the fundamental principles behind such social relationships. As a consequence two groupings have been extensively treated with a statistical study of the attitudes common to those who looked upon themselves as belonging, although other groupings are characterized by anecdotal description. In the statistical studies those attitudes that seemed to appear most often in overt expression in pluralistic situations have been selected.

Inasmuch as attitudes that might seem to be called church attitudes appeared to play, perhaps, a fairly dominant rôle in community life, attitudes that were associated with possession of ideology of belonging to the Methodist and Baptist church were taken as the chief study of this part of the project.

It is interesting to note the expressions commonly used by those who wished to express a relationship to what they termed the church. Instead of the ideology of *at* or *in* expressed in the case of the community relationship already briefly described, the usual expression used to indicate some relationship to the latter type of groupings was the statement of *belonging to* and suggesting identification.

In AND *Out* GROUPINGS

The method of this part of the study as related in the introduction was to test individuals with the ideology of belonging to a particular grouping for associated attitudes or attitude differences. In such a fashion, it was hoped to differentiate groupings from

people at large. The first evidence that the groupings studied might be considered intra-community in nature came at this point. The preponderant majority of those possessing the ideology of belonging to the groupings studied, also possessed the ideology of belonging to the community, and the idea of belonging to the community as already indicated, associates with other factors. In view of this fact, in differentiating such groups as the church group from non-members, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the majority of the members of the church are also people of the community. If church people of the community are compared with non-church people at large and not non-church people of the community differences will arise which are due to the community relationship and not to the church relationship. Giddings has pointed out the danger of this error in the chapter on the use of dichotomy in the *Scientific Study of Human Society*.¹ In this study, when members possessing the ideology of belonging to a local grouping are compared with non-members, it is understood that the non-members are also people of the community. The first group will be referred to as those with the EM factor, or belonging to the community as well as possessing the ideology of belonging to some smaller grouping, while the second grouping will be referred to as those with the Em factor, or belonging to the community but lacking the ideology of belonging to the smaller grouping. There is a certain amount of evidence that groupings thus created resemble the concepts of *in* and *out* groups described by certain sociologists. Whether there is a similarity or not, the groups created in this fashion will be referred to as *in* and *out* groups and evidences of the likeness to the sociologists' *in* and *out* groups will be pointed out in a later part of this study.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ATTITUDES

It was in the search for attitudes that associated with possession of the ideology of belonging to intra-community groupings that the necessity for accounting for both public and private

¹ Giddings, F. *Scientific Study of Human Society*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1924, p. 65.

attitudes on the same attitude variable became evident. The inconsistency of the distribution of attitudes of the local Methodists in regard to playing cards with other of their attitude distributions first brought this problem to the foreground. In attempting to explain why this distribution failed to follow the usual trend it became obvious that people were checking attitudes on this question that never found outlet in behavior in public social situations. The reason for this circumstance seems fairly evident. People of the community seemed to feel that they acquired prestige in the eyes of a city individual by stating private rather than public attitudes on the question of card playing. Their private attitudes seemed to be the more preferable attitude to express to a city individual. This seemed to be the result of a rather widespread stereotype of the attitudes of city people toward card playing, as there was no evidence of the investigator's attitudes on this subject. That the results really represent a conflict of attitudes on many issues and are not merely attempts to acquire status in the eyes of the investigator by stating fictions becomes more and more apparent as this study progresses and, when the card scale was checked for public as well as private attitudes, a distribution appeared that was similar in form to those on other issues generally supposed to be typically Methodist. Other justification of this type of treatment of attitudes is found in the simplicity with which social phenomena, otherwise difficult to explain, are accounted for in understandable fashion.¹

Private attitudes for the most part had to be obtained by indirect means. As a result, the amount of time necessary to get such checkings limited the number of scales used. Private attitudes were not taken on many issues where the lack of gossip and agitation on the question seemed to indicate that the conflict of attitudes was not widespread. In securing public attitudes an attempt to secure a standard was made by following a procedure

¹ H. C. Beyle suggests that attitudes change with the degree of publication. This may be so. In a small community, however, there seems to be only two general degrees of publication, that of publication to intimates and that publication which, given out, is sure to circulate through the entire community at large. So this dichotomy of public and private attitudes might not be as true in city situations.

of seeking that attitude which, in the light of an individual's public behavior, people of the community in general would have the right to expect of this particular individual on this particular issue.

THE FEELING OF UNIVERSALITY

In addition to giving his attitude each individual of the grouping studied was asked to indicate how universal he believed his public attitude to be among other members of the same grouping. He might say any one of three things: (1) I believe that almost all (Methodists) feel the same way on this issue; (2) I believe that the majority of (Methodists) people feel the same way on this issue; or (3) I believe that only a few (Methodists) feel the same way on this issue.

THE FEELING OF UNIVERSAL EXPECTATION

Each individual was asked also to check how universally people of the community might expect his attitude to be typical of Methodists. The same scale was used as in the case of the feeling of universality: (1) I believe that almost all of the people of the community would expect this attitude of a (Methodist); (2) I believe that the majority of the people of the community would expect this attitude of a (Methodist); or (3) I believe that only a few of the people of the community would expect this attitude of a (Methodist).

STUDY I

A—ATTITUDES THAT ASSOCIATE WITH POSSESSION OF THE IDEOLOGY OF BELONGING TO THE ELM HOLLOW METHODIST CHURCH (EM FACTOR)

The individuals with the EM factor have built many of their attitudes around people from other places in a social relationship called a "Conference Organization." Especially are the individuals with the EM factor concerned with a Bishop and a District Superintendent. Each year four meetings are held in the community in which the District Superintendent participates. Once a year a meeting is held at some city at which financial and other

reports are tendered to the Bishop, not only by people from this community, but by others from places in the surrounding country. At this yearly meeting the Bishop, on advice evidently of the local body, decides who shall be the preacher at the Methodist Church in Elm Hollow for the following year. He may elect to return the present incumbent. He may send a new man to fulfil the duties of a preacher in Elm Hollow Community.

At the time of this study the Bishop had just returned the preacher of the previous year for another term, although the Elm Hollow congregation had voted for a new man. There was considerable agitation among those interviewed about this decision of the Bishop. Some felt that the Bishop was by this act attempting to discipline the church people for their failure to pay the full salary of a previous pastor. Others held that he resented the treatment the local group had accorded one of his favorite preachers. Still others held that undoubtedly Elm Hollow was receiving all the consideration it could expect, in view of the salary paid by the local church and the opportunities for advancement that it offered. The following scales seemed to adequately represent the range of attitudes. Both are logical scales:

- a. In sending preachers to Elm Hollow, I feel that the Bishop has generally sent, of the men available for places of its size and kind:
 1. The best men.
 2. Average men.
 3. Inferior men.
- b. In sending the preachers to Elm Hollow I feel that the Bishop has:
 1. Made a real effort in behalf of the community.
 2. Considered the community.
 3. Been indifferent to the community.
 4. Been deliberately antagonistic to the community.

The distribution of attitudes on the first scale is shown on Table 15. In this table we see the attitudes of the EM and Em groupings compared. A study has been made also of private attitudes of the first group on the same issues.

The distributions of the EM and Em groupings on this issue are very much alike in form. Both are fairly symmetrical distributions. On step 2 the difference between the public attitude checking of the EM grouping and the same checking of the Em

TABLE 15
Attitude Regarding Ability of Preachers Sent to Elm Hollow¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality ²			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
EM Grouping (Public Atti.)							
1. Have been the best	17	33.33	xxxxxx	6	35	59	100
2. Have been average	21	41.18	xxxxxx	5	57	38	100
3. Have been inferior	13	25.49	xxxxxx	8	23	69	100
	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 100.00					
EM Grouping (Priv. Atti.)							
1. Have been the best	17	33.33	xxxxxx				
2. Have been average	14	27.45	xxxxxx				
3. Have been inferior	20	39.22	xxxxxx				
	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 100.00					
Em Grouping (Public Atti.)							
1. Have been the best	11	28.95	xxxxxx				
2. Have been average	20	52.63	xxxxxx				
3. Have been inferior	7	18.42	xxxxxx				
	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 100.00					

¹ Fifty-one individuals with the EM factor and thirty-eight with the Em factor are included in this table.

² The feeling of universality refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking each step who felt that the attitude checked was generally characteristic of the proportion of the rest of the group members, stated: All, Maj., Few, at the upper right of table.

grouping equals 11.45 per cent. This difference is hardly greater than a difference of chance.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that while the mode was on step 2 in the public distribution it falls on step 3 in the private distribution. The difference between the public and private checking of step 2 by the EM grouping equals 13.73 per cent. This is also, however, not greater than a chance difference.²

Of the EM grouping checking step 2, 6 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 35 per cent felt that the majority of Methodists felt the same way; while 59 per cent felt that only a few Methodists felt their preachers had been average in ability. This data is contained under the feeling of universality in the table indicated.

The distributions of attitudes on scale b are found on Table 16. The general form of the distribution of the EM public checking is essentially J-shaped. The highest incidence falls on step 1. The distribution of public attitudes of the Em grouping is much more symmetrical. There is a difference between these two groups in the checking of step 1 of 68.48 per cent. This difference equals over eight times the S.E. of the difference.³

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that there is as great a difference between the public and private checking of the EM grouping as there is between the public distributions of the EM and Em groupings. Unlike the J-shaped distribution of public attitude, the private checking of the EM grouping is only moderately asymmetrical. Where the mode was on step 1 for public attitudes it is found on step 2 in the case of private attitudes. The difference between the checking of step 1 for public and private attitudes equals 60.79 per

¹ S.E. of the difference on step 2 equals .106.

² S.E. of the difference on step 2 equals .093.

³ S.E. of the difference equals .079.

TABLE 16
Attitude Regarding Consideration Shown by Bishop in Selecting Elm Hollow Preachers¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality ²			Total Per cent
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	
EM Grouping (Public Att.)							
1. Shown real effort	47	92.16	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	81	13	6	100
2. Shown consideration	3	5.88	xx	33	..	66	100
3. Shown indifference	1	1.96	x	..	..	100	100
4. Shown antagonism	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00					
EM Grouping (Priv. Att.)							
1. Shown real effort	16	31.37	xxxxxxxx				
2. Shown consideration	21	41.18	xxxxxxxxxxxx				
3. Shown indifference	10	19.61	xxxxxx				
4. Shown antagonism	4	7.84	xxx				
	51	100.00					
Em Grouping (Public Att.)							
1. Shown real effort	9	23.68	xxxxxx				
2. Shown consideration	16	42.11	xxxxxxxxxxxx				
3. Shown indifference	8	21.05	xxxxx				
4. Shown antagonism	5	13.16	xxx				
	38	100.00					

¹ There are fifty-one individuals with EM factor and thirty-eight with Em factor.

² See note, Table 15.

cent. This is, of course, a real and not a chance difference,¹ being equal to over seven times the S.E. of the difference.

Of the EM groupng² checking step 1, 81 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 13 per cent felt that the majority of Methodists felt the same way while 6 per cent felt that only a few Methodists felt the same way.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PREACHER RETURNED BY THE BISHOP AGAINST THE VOTE OF THE LOCAL CHURCH GROUPING

The local church grouping had voted in favor of having a new preacher. In view of this fact, the action of the Bishop in returning the man voted out created an interesting situation. The following scale seemed to give a possible range of attitudes that might be taken toward the returning pastor:

In view of the fact that the Bishop has seen fit to return Mr. X. to Elm Hollow against the vote of the church group

1. I shall do everything in my power to eliminate causes that might make his permanent stay impossible.
2. I shall coöperate when called upon to do so for the regular conference year and then vote again for a new preacher.
3. I shall remain away from church affairs and adopt a policy of non-interference until a new preacher is secured.
4. I shall actively engage in attempts to bring about his removal at once.
5. No attitude.

Table 17 shows the distribution of attitudes on this issue. The distribution of public attitudes of the EM group is J-shaped with the maximum frequency falling on step 2. The greater majority, by far, of the Em grouping claimed to have no attitude on this issue and insisted that they had nothing to do with this question. The difference between the two groups in the checking of step 2 equaled 67.24 per cent, or over eight times the S.E. of the difference.³

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that there is some, although not a great deal of

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .075.

² Unless private attitudes are directly stated, all references to the EM distribution refer to the public attitude distribution.

³ The S.E. of the difference equals .079.

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of:			
				Universality Among Members		Universal ² Expectation	
		All	Maj.	Few	Per cent	Per cent	Tot. cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Atti.)							
1. Make permanent stay of preacher possible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Adjust until new preacher can be secured—next conference	41	80.40	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	56	37	7	100
3. Stay from church affairs, but do not interfere	6	11.76	xxxx	..	..	100	..
4. Do all possible to get instant removal of preacher	4	7.84	xxx	..	..	100	..
5. No attitude	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		<u>100.00</u>					
EM Grouping (Pri. Atti.)							
1. Permanent adjustment	1	1.96	x				
2. Temporary adjustment	32	62.75	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx				
3. Partial opposition	11	21.57	xxxxxx				
4. Opposition	5	9.80	xxx				
5. No attitude	2	3.92	x				
		<u>100.00</u>					
Em Grouping (Pub. Atti.)							
1. Permanent adjustment	5	13.16	xxxx				
2. Temporary adjustment	2	5.26	xx				
3. Partial opposition							
4. Opposition	31	81.58	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx				
5. No attitude							
		<u>100.00</u>					
Attitude expected of group members by out-group (Em grouping)							
		No.	Per cent				
1. Permanent adjustment	9	23.68					
2. Temporary adjustment	13	34.21					
3. Partial opposition	11	28.95					
4. Opposition	5	13.16					

¹ There are 51 individuals with the EM factor and 38 with the Em factor.

² The feeling of universality refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step, that felt that the step was also characteristic of the stated number (All-Maj.-Few) of other members. The feeling of universal expectation refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step that felt that the step was the attitude that the stated (All-Maj.-Few) proportion of the out-group would expect of a Methodist.

difference, in the general form of the distribution. The difference between the public and private checking of step 2 by the EM grouping equals 17.65 per cent. This difference, however, is equal to only about two times the S.E. of the difference between the two proportions.¹ In private attitudes the shift has been in both directions from the mode that was established in public attitudes.

Of the EM grouping checking step 2, 56 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 37 per cent felt that the majority felt that way; while 7 per cent felt that only a few Methodists felt the same way.

Of the EM grouping checking step 2, 82 per cent felt that almost all of the people in the community would expect a Methodist to conform to the attitude expressed in step 2; 12 per cent felt the majority of the people of the community would expect this attitude, while 6 per cent felt that only a few people would expect this attitude of a Methodist.

A checkup of the attitude that non-Methodists of the community might expect of Methodists was conducted with the Em grouping as a sample of the community. Of the Em grouping 34.21 per cent felt that step 2 was the proper Methodist attitude. This amount is, however, not enough greater than the number checking any other step as the proper Methodist attitude to be considered a real difference and not a fluctuation of sampling.

ATTITUDE TOWARD CARD PLAYING

Methodists were often characterized by other people of the community as being opposed to playing cards. At the local bridge parties that the investigator attended during his first year of residence in this community, it was often noticed that many Methodists and Baptists contented themselves with playing flinch and other cards played without the usual type of face card, while the rest of those present played bridge. The following scale seemed to test the possible range of attitudes on this issue:

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .088.

1. I will not play card games of any kind.
2. I will not play games with face cards (but see no harm in playing with flinch cards).
3. I will not gamble (but see no harm in any kind of cards for amusement).
4. I will play any kind of cards (with or without gambling).

The distribution of attitudes is shown in Table 18. The distribution of public attitudes of the EM grouping is J-shaped with the maximum frequency falling on step 2. The distribution of attitudes of the Em grouping is more symmetrical, but the mode represents a very high percentage of the group, and falls on step 3. The difference in checking step 2 by the two groups equals 66.52 per cent, which is over seven times the S.E. of the difference between the two proportions.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that there is considerable difference between the two checkings. We find a shift of the mode from step 2 in public to step 3 in private checking and a difference on step 2 of 70.59 per cent. This difference equals over ten times the S.E. of the difference between the two proportions.² The form of the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping seems to be much more similar to the checking of the Em grouping than it is to the public checking of the EM grouping.

Of the individuals checking step two on public attitudes, of the EM grouping, 44 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 37 per cent felt that the majority felt that way, while 19 per cent felt that only a few Methodists possessed this attitude.

Of the individuals of the EM grouping checking step 2, 83 per cent also felt that almost all of the people of the community would expect a Methodist to conform to the behavior expressed in this step; 11 per cent felt that the majority of the people of the community would expect this attitude, while 6 per cent felt that only a few people would expect this attitude of a Methodist.

A checkup of the attitudes of the non-Methodists revealed the fact that the majority did expect step 2 to be the typical Methodist

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .082.

² S.E. of the difference equals .069.

TABLE 18
*Attitude Toward Card Playing*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of:2					
				Universality Among Members			Universal Expectation		
		All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Tot. Per cent	All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Tot. Per cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. No Cards	46	90.20	..	..	..	44	37	19	100
2. No Face Cards	2	3.92	x	..	..	..	33	67	100
3. No Gambling	3	5.88	xx	..	..	..	100	100	100
4. Any Cards									
		100.00							
EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)									
1. No Cards	10	19.61	..	..	..	..
2. No Face Cards	37	72.55	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	..			
3. No Gambling	4	7.84	xx	xx	xx	..			
4. Any Cards									
		100.00							
Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. No Cards	9	23.68	..	..	..	..
2. No Face Cards	28	73.69	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	..			
3. No Gambling	1	2.63	x	x	x	..			
4. Any Cards									
		100.00							
Attitude expected of group members by out-group (Em grouping):									
1. No Cards						No.	Per cent		
2. No Face Cards						8	21.05		
3. No Gambling						20	52.63		
4. Any Cards						6	15.79		
						4	10.53		
								100.00	

¹ There are 51 EM individuals and 38 with the Em factor.

² The feeling of universality refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step of the stated number of other members. The feeling of universal expectation refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step who felt that the step was the attitude that the stated proportion of the out-group would expect of a Methodist.

position, if the checking of the Em grouping is a fair sample. Of the Em grouping, 52.63 per cent felt that the Methodist position was opposition to playing with face cards.

ATTITUDE TOWARD BAPTISM

One of the frequently heard reasons preventing union of the Baptists with the Methodists in a common church was that there were among the group members fundamental differences in beliefs regarding Baptism. The following scales seemed to indicate attitudes taken toward Baptism:

a. Nature

1. Baptism is real (in the sense that the relationship between God and the baptized is altered).
2. Baptism is symbolic (in the sense that the ceremony represents certain values rather than sense indicated above).
3. Baptism is superstitious (in the sense that the ceremony is used as a device to obtain supernatural results).

b. Form

1. Baptism should be by immersion.
2. Baptism may be by either immersion or sprinkling.
3. Baptism should be by sprinkling.
4. No attitude (do not believe in baptism, etc.).

The distribution of attitudes on the first scale (a) is shown in Table 19. The distribution of the public attitudes of the EM grouping assumes the J-shaped form. The distribution of the Em grouping is quite symmetrical with its mode on step 2. The difference between these two groups in the checking of step 1, equaled 37.78 per cent. This difference equals almost three times the S.E.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that there is considerable difference between the two checkings. We find that the mode is still found on step 1, more on step 2, and there is a difference on step 1 of 17.65 per cent. This difference, however, equals less than two times the S.E. of the difference between the two proportions.² The general

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .097.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .069.

TABLE 19
*Attitude Toward the Nature of Baptism*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality		
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent
<i>EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)</i>						
1. Real	30	58.83	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	80	20	..
2. Symbolic	19	37.25	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	74	26	..
3. Superstitious	2	3.92	x	..	..	100
	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 100.00				100
<i>EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)</i>						
1. Real	21	41.18	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx			
2. Symbolic	20	39.22	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx			
3. Superstitious	10	19.60	xxxxxx			
	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 100.00				
<i>Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)</i>						
1. Real	8	21.05	xxxxxx			
2. Symbolic	18	47.37	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx			
3. Superstitious	12	31.58	xxxxxx			
	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 100.00				

¹ There are 51 individuals with EM factor and 38 with Em factor.

form of the distribution of private attitudes seems to be a middle form between the J-shaped distribution of the public attitude checking and the symmetrical form of the checking of the Em grouping.

Of the number of the EM grouping checking step 1, 80 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 20 per cent felt that the majority felt the same way.

The distribution of attitudes on the second scale (b) is shown in Table 20. The distribution of public attitudes of the EM grouping is essentially J-shaped with the mode on step 1. The distribution of the Em grouping has its mode on step 2 and checking on steps on either side. The difference between the two groups in the checking of step 1 equals 77.04 per cent. This difference equals over eleven times the S.E. of the difference.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that there is considerable difference between the two checkings. The mode is no longer on step 1, but is on step 2. There is a difference between the two checkings on step 1 of 74.51 per cent. This difference equals over eleven times the S.E. of the difference.² The general form of this distribution seems more similar to that of the Em grouping.

Of the number of the EM grouping checking step 1, 89 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 11 per cent felt that the majority felt that way.

Of the same individuals 63 per cent felt that almost all of the people of the company would expect a Methodist to conform to the behavior expressed in this step; 22 per cent felt that the majority would expect this attitude while 15 per cent felt that only a few would expect this attitude of a Methodist.

A checkup of the attitudes of the non-Methodists revealed the fact that actually 81.58 per cent (if the Em expectation is a good sample) expected step 1 to be the characteristic Methodist attitude.

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .069.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .066.

TABLE 20
Attitude Toward the Form of Baptism¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of: ²					
				Universality Among Members			Universal Expectation		
		All	Maj.	Few	Tot.	All	Maj.	Few	Tot.
		Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per
		cent	cent	cent	cent	cent	cent	cent	cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)	46	90.20	xxxxxx	xx	89	11	63	22	15
1. Sprinkling	4	7.84	xxx	..	..	40	60	60	40
2. Either									
3. Immersion									
4. No attitude	1	1.96	x	..	..	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00							
EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)	8	15.69	xxxx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
1. Sprinkling	36	70.59	xxxxxx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
2. Either									
3. Immersion	3	5.88	xx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	4	7.84	xx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00							
Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)	5	13.16	xxxx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
1. Sprinkling	20	52.63	xxxxxx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
2. Either									
3. Immersion	8	21.05	xxxx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	5	13.16	xx	xx	xx	..	..	..	..
	38	100.00							
Attitude expected of group members by out-group (Em grouping)									
	No.	Per cent							
1. Sprinkling	31	81.58							
2. Either	7	18.42							
3. Immersion									
4. No attitude									
	38	100.00							

¹ There are 51 individuals with the EM factor and 38 with the Em factor.

² The feeling of universality refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step who felt that the step was also characteristic of the stated number of other members. The feeling of universal expectation refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step who felt that the step was the attitude that the stated proportion of the out-group would expect of a Methodist.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE LORD'S SUPPER

The general attitude toward the Lord's supper seemed to be expressed in the following range of attitudes:

a. Nature

1. The Lord's supper is real.
2. The Lord's supper is symbolic.
3. The Lord's supper is superstitious.

b. Form

1. The Lord's supper should be taken from the front of the church from a common cup.
2. The Lord's supper should be taken from the front of the church from individual cups.
3. The Lord's supper should be taken from the pews from individual cups.
4. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes on scale (a) is shown in Table 21. The distribution of attitudes of the EM grouping assumes a J-shaped form, and the mode falls on step 2. The distribution of the Em grouping is not essentially different although it does differ to the extent that there is checking on both sides of the mode in the case of this grouping. The difference in checking on step 2 equaled 23.11 per cent. This difference would equal over two times the S.E.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that although the general form of the distribution remains the same, there is much less checking of the modal step. There is a difference on step 2 of 11.76 per cent which is hardly a significant difference.

Of the number of the EM grouping checking step 2, 89 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 11 per cent felt that the majority of Methodists would feel the same way.

The distribution of attitudes on scale (b) is found in Table 22. The distribution of attitudes of the EM grouping in their public checking is J-shaped with the mode on step 2. Not quite, but almost, a majority of the Em grouping insisted that they had no attitude upon this question. Those checking attitudes formed a J-shaped distribution in the opposite direction from the distribution of the EM grouping, with the mode on step 3. The

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .092.

TABLE 21
*Attitude Toward the Nature of the Lord's Supper*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Real	44	86.27	...	89	11	..	100
2. Symbolic	7	13.73	XXXXXX	..	..	100	100
3. Superstitious			XXXX				
	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 100.00					
EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)							
1. Real	38	74.51	.....	..	..
2. Symbolic	13	25.49	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX		
3. Superstitious			XXXX				
	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 100.00					
Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Real	2	5.26	xx				
2. Symbolic	24	63.16	XXXXXXXXXXXX				
3. Superstitious	12	31.58	XXXXXX				
	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 100.00					

¹ There are 51 individuals with EM factor and 38 with Em factor.

TABLE 22
*Attitude Toward the Form of the Lord's Supper*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Common cup at altar	37	72.55	..	..	..	..	100
2. Individual cup at altar	7	13.73	xxxxxx	92	8	57	99
3. Individual cup at pew	7	13.73	xxxxxx	..	42	..	..
4. No attitude	7	..	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00					
EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)							
1. Common cup at altar	23	45.10	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
2. Individual cup at altar	19	37.25	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
3. Individual cup at pew	9	17.65	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00					
Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Common cup at altar	2	5.26	xx	..	..	..	..
2. Individual cup at altar	8	21.05	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
3. Individual cup at pew	10	26.32	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	18	47.37	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
	38	100.00					

¹ There are 51 individuals with the EM factor and 38 with the Em factor.

difference between the two groups in the checking of step 2 equals 51.50 per cent. This difference equals six times the S.E.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EM grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, some shifting from step 2 toward steps 3 and 4 is noted. The distribution is still J-shaped with, however, only 8 per cent more on the modal and terminal step than on the next step. The difference on step two equals 27.45 per cent. This difference equals almost three times the S.E. of the difference of the two proportions.²

Of the EM individuals checking step 2 in public attitudes 92 per cent felt that almost all Methodists would hold the same attitude while 8 per cent felt that only the majority would be expected to hold this position.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE DISCIPLINE

Individuals spoke of the church discipline as a source of rules by which business meetings and church affairs might be conducted. This discipline is a code of procedures to be followed in church affairs and is published in book form. The following scale was presented on this issue:

1. The Discipline is the final authority in church procedure.
2. The Discipline is the principal authority on church procedure, but it can be overlooked if there is serious reason for doing so.
3. The Discipline should be only a code of minor authority and should be followed only when expediency does not provide any other course of action.
4. The Discipline should not be considered in church procedure.
5. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 23. The distribution of attitudes of the EM grouping is perhaps the steepest J-shaped distribution yet encountered. Over three-fourths of the Em grouping insisted upon no attitude as representing their views on this issue. There was no checking of step 1 by the Em grouping, so that there was a difference of 92 per cent in the checking of step 1. This equals nineteen times the S.E. of the difference.³

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .092.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .093.

³ The S.E. of the difference equals .053.

TABLE 23
Attitude Toward the Discipline¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of:					
				Universality Among Members			Universal Expectation		
		All	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Tot. Per cent	All	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Tot. Per cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. Final authority	47	92.16	xxxxxx	10	12	100	49	32	19
2. Greatest factor	3	5.88	xx	33	67	100	..	..	100
3. Minor factor	1	1.96	x	..	100	100	..	..	100
4. No importance	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. No attitude	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)	51	100.00							
1. Final authority	43	84.31	xxxxxx						
2. Greatest factor	7	13.73	xxxx						
3. Minor factor	1	1.96	x						
4. No importance	..	..	..			
5. No attitude	..	..	..			
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)	51	100.00							
1. Final authority	..	..	..			
2. Greatest factor	..	..	..			
3. Minor factor	3	7.90	xxx						
4. No importance	3	7.90	xxx						
5. No attitude	32	84.20	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx						
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	38	100.00							
Attitude expected of group members by out-group (Em grouping)									
						No.		Per cent	
1. Final authority	11						28.95		
2. Greatest factor	13						34.21		
3. Minor factor	10						26.32		
4. No importance	4						10.53		
5. No attitude	..						..
	—	—	—	—	—	38	100.00		

¹ There are 51 individuals with the EM factor and 38 with the Em factor.

When the private attitudes of the EM grouping are compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, although the shape of the distribution is much the same in both cases, there is seen some shifting away from the mode in the direction of steps 2 and 3. The difference is, however, evidently not greater than a chance difference.

Of the number of EM grouping checking step 1, 78 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt the same way; 10 per cent felt that the majority would feel the same way, while 12 per cent felt that only a few would possess this attitude.

Of the same number 49 per cent felt that almost all of the people of the community would expect a Methodist to conform to the behavior expressed in this step; 32 per cent felt that the majority would expect this attitude while 19 per cent felt that only a few would expect this attitude of a typical Methodist.

A checkup of the attitudes of the Em grouping revealed the fact that 28.95 per cent of them felt that this would be the typical Methodist attitude. This amount of checking was evidently not significantly different from the checking upon other steps. In fact, a greater percentage, 34.21 per cent, felt that step 2 was the typical attitude.

ATTITUDE TOWARD PROPERTY

One of the chief arguments heard in the community, diminishing the possibility of union between the two churches, was the fact that the Methodists did not own their own church property. It was felt that inasmuch as the title to the property on which the Methodist Church stood was in the hands of the Conference and the Bishop, one could not expect the use of the land and building for union purposes. The following scale seemed to show the attitudes on this question:

1. I have the right to vote on any plan for the use or disposal of the church property (Methodist).
2. I have the right to vote on any plan for the use of the church property (Methodist) but nothing to say regarding its disposal.
3. I have the right to vote on any plan for the use of the church property (Methodist) if the uses are allowed by the Methodist Conference.
4. I have nothing to say regarding the Methodist property.

TABLE 24
Attitude Toward Ownership of Church Property¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of:					
				Universality Among Members			Universal Expectation		
		All	Maj.	Few	Tot.	All	Maj.	Few	Tot.
		All	Per	Per	Per	All	Per	Per	Per
		Per	cent	cent	cent	Per	cent	cent	cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. Complete rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Unlimited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Limited use	51	100.00	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	100	..	..	100
4. No rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00							
EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)									
1. Complete rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Unlimited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Limited use	51	100.00	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	100	..	..	100
4. No rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00							
Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. Complete rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Unlimited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Limited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. No rights	38	100.00	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	100	..	..	100
	38	100.00							
Attitude expected of group members by out-group (Em grouping)									
		No.	Per cent						
1. Complete use	10	26.32							
2. Unlimited use	10	26.32							
3. Limited use	18	47.37							
4. No attitude	..	..					
	38	100.00							

¹ There are 51 individuals with EM factor and 38 with Em factor.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 24. There was a complete uniformity of checking on step 3 by the EM grouping. There was a complete uniformity of no attitude by the Em grouping.

There was no difference between the distribution of private attitudes of the EM grouping from the public attitude distribution.

Of those checking step 3 of the EM grouping there was a 100 per cent feeling that almost all other Methodists felt the same way.

Of those checking step 3 of the same group there was a 100 per cent feeling that almost all of the people of the community would expect a Methodist to conform to the attitude expressed in this step.

A checkup of the attitudes of the Em grouping revealed the fact that, although 47 per cent actually expected the behavior indicated in step 3, still a great number checked steps 1 and 2 as representing the attitude they would expect of a Methodist.

ATTITUDE TOWARD GOING TO THE THEATRE

It was often heard that the Methodists were opposed to theatre going and that the present position of the church is much more tolerant than the stand of many years ago. Other people seemed opposed to Sunday theatre attendance but not opposed to attendance during the week. The attitudes on this question seemed represented in the following scale:

1. I am opposed to theatre attendance at any time.
2. I am opposed to theatre attendance on Sunday, but see no harm in going on week days.
3. I see no harm in theatre attendance at any time.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 25. The distribution of attitudes of the EM grouping, public attitudes, is symmetrical in form. The distribution of attitudes of the Em grouping is slightly asymmetrical in the direction of attendance at any time. The mode in both cases falls on step 2.

TABLE 25
Attitude Toward the Theatre¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of: Universality Among Members			Total Per cent
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Opposed to any day	7	13.73	xxxxx	63	28	9	100
2. Opposed to Sunday	33	64.71	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	100
3. Not opposed to Sunday	11	21.56	xxxxxx	..	..	..	100
	51	100.00					
EM Grouping (Pri. Att.)							
1. Opposed to any day	6	11.76	xxxx	..	..	..	..
2. Opposed to Sunday	28	54.90	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	..
3. Not opposed to Sunday	17	33.33	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
	51	100.00					
Em Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Opposed to any day	2	5.26	xx	..	..	..	..
2. Opposed to Sunday	22	57.90	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	..
3. Not opposed to Sunday	14	36.84	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
	38	100.00					

¹ There are 51 individuals with EM factor and 38 with Em factor.

There is a difference on step 2 between the two groupings equal to 6.81 per cent. This does not equal one S.E. of the difference.¹

When the private attitudes of the Em grouping are compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, the fact is seen that the general form of distribution is the same in both instances. There is a slight shift in the direction of attendance at any time in private attitudes. The difference between the public and private checking of step 2 equals 9.81 per cent. This equals about one S.E. of the difference.²

Of the number of the EM grouping checking step 2, 63 per cent felt that almost all Methodists felt this way; 28 per cent felt that the majority of Methodists felt this way, while 9 per cent felt that only a few Methodists possessed this attitude.

ATTITUDE TOWARD FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN THE PULPIT

Another question of interest to people seemed to revolve around the freedom a preacher should have to make certain types of statements in the pulpit. The scale is as follows:

In the pulpit—

1. The preacher should avoid reference in any fashion to the behavior of the people of the community.
2. The preacher should never discuss the behavior of people of the community but it is fair for him to indicate his disagreement with principles which they may be violating.
3. The preacher may discuss behavior in general and indicate disagreement with it, but he should never mention specific individuals of the community.
4. The preacher should denounce individuals by name who do not meet his standards of behavior.

The attitude distribution is shown in Table 26. No attempt was made to study private attitudes on this issue. The distribution of the EM grouping on this issue is highly asymmetrical. There seems, however, to be no real difference either in shape or amount of checking between the two groups on this issue.

Of the number of EM individuals checking step 3, 78 per cent felt that the majority of Methodists would feel the same way; 22 per cent felt that only a few Methodists would feel this way.

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .096.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .094.

TABLE 26
*Attitude Toward Freedom of Expression from Pulpit*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
EM Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Complete freedom	6	11.76	xxxx	17	83	100	
2. Refrain from mentioning names	15	29.41	xxxxxxxx	40	60	100	
3. Refrain from mentioning incidence	27	52.95	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	78	22	100	
4. Avoid in every way	3	5.88	xx	67	33	100	
	51	100.00					
Em Grouping (Public Att.)							
1. Complete freedom	8	21.05	xxxxxx				
2. Refrain from mentioning names	10	26.32	xxxxxxxx				
3. Refrain from mentioning incidence	18	47.37	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx				
4. Avoid in every way	2	5.26	xx				
	38	100.00					

¹ There are 51 individuals with EM factor and 38 with Em factor.

ATTITUDE TOWARD AMOUNT OF SALARY THAT SHOULD BE PAID TO MEMBERS OF THE CHOIR

Although there seemed to be no feeling that the question of payment of choir members was an issue in this community, the following scale was given for purposes that will be evident later.

1. Choir members should be paid for their singing, exactly as anyone in any other vocation is paid.
2. Choir members should receive something for their singing but should be willing to work for the church for less than for other organizations.
3. Choir members should be willing to sing for the church for nothing, but church members should show in other ways that their efforts are appreciated.
4. Choir members should consider singing in church a privilege and should expect nothing more in return.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 27. No attempt was made to study the out-group on this issue. The distribution of attitudes of the EM grouping in their public checking was highly J-shaped with the mode on step 3. There seemed to be so little difference in private attitudes on this issue that they were not studied.

Of those checking step three, 95 per cent felt that almost all of the other members felt the same way; 5 per cent felt that the majority felt the same way.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AMOUNT OF SALARY THAT SHOULD BE PAID FOR JANITOR WORK

The following scale was given in reference to payment for janitor work:

1. The janitor should be paid for his work exactly as any one in any other vocation is paid.
2. The janitor should receive something for his work, but should be willing to work for the church for less than for other organizations.
3. The janitor should be willing to work for the church for nothing, but church members should show in other ways their appreciation.
4. The janitor should consider working for the church a privilege and should expect nothing more in return.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 27. Private attitudes and attitudes of the out-group were not studied. The distribution of the EM grouping is J-shaped with the mode

TABLE 27
Attitude Toward Compensating Choir Members and Janitor¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All	Maj.	Few	Total
<i>A. Choir Members</i>							
EM Grouping (Pub. and Pri.)							
1. Complete payment	48	94.12	..	..	..	..	..
2. Partial payment	3	5.88	xx	xx	5	..	..
3. Receive gratitude				95	5	..	100
4. Receive nothing				..	..	100	100
	51	100.00					
<i>B. Janitor</i>							
EM Grouping (Pub. and Pri.)							
1. Complete payment	35	68.63	xxxxxx	92	8	100	100
2. Partial payment	14	27.45	xxxxxx	..	17	83	100
3. Receive gratitude	2	3.92	x	..	..	100	100
4. Receive nothing				..	..	..	..
	51	100.00					

¹ There are 51 individuals with the EM factor.

on step 1. Of the individuals checking that step, 92 per cent felt that almost all other Methodists would have the same attitude; 8 per cent felt that at least the majority would have this attitude.

STUDY II

A—ATTITUDES THAT ASSOCIATE WITH POSSESSION OF THE IDEOLOGY OF BELONGING TO THE ELM HOLLOW BAPTIST CHURCH (EB FACTOR)

The second study was concerned with forty-six individuals who looked upon themselves as belonging to the Elm Hollow Baptist church. Common conversation seemed to indicate that many attitudes common to this group were similar to those already studied in relationship to those with Methodist ideology. On some instances interesting differences were noticed that seemed worthy of study.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SACRAMENT

The two scales previously given to the individual with the EM factor were repeated with those with the EB factor.

a. Nature

1. The Lord's supper is real.
2. The Lord's supper is symbolic.
3. The Lord's supper is superstitious.

b. Form

1. The Lord's supper should be taken at the altar from a common cup.
2. The Lord's supper should be taken at the altar from individual cups.
3. The Lord's supper should be taken at the pews from individual cups.

The distribution of attitudes regarding scale (a) is shown on Table 28. The distribution of attitudes of the EB grouping is J-shaped with the mode falling on step 2. The distribution of the Eb grouping is not essentially different, although it does differ to the extent of one check on step 1. The difference in checking of step 2 equals 14.82 per cent. This difference was over one times the S.E. of the difference between the two proportions.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EB grouping is

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .104.

TABLE 28
*Attitude Toward the Nature of the Lord's Supper*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality				Total Per cent
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	99 Per cent	
EB Grouping (Pub. Att.)								
1. Real	38	82.61	..	..	..	..	..	99
2. Symbolic	8	17.39	xxxxxx	89	11	..	..	100
3. Superstitious			xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	100
	46	100.00						
EB Grouping (Pri. Att.)								
1. Real	35	76.09	..	..	..	..	..	99
2. Symbolic	11	23.91	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	100
3. Superstitious			xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	100
	46	100.00						
Eb Grouping (Pub. Att.)								
1. Real	1	3.23	x	..	..	..	..	99
2. Symbolic	21	67.74	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	100
3. Superstitious	9	29.03	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	100
	31	100.00						

¹ There are 46 individuals with the EB factor and 31 with the Eb factor.

compared with the public distribution of the same individuals, it is seen that, although there is slightly less checking of the modal step, the form of the distribution remains the same. There is a difference on step 2 of 6.52 per cent. This difference does not equal one times the S.E.¹

Of the number of the EB grouping checking step two 89 per cent felt that almost all Baptists felt the same way; 11 per cent felt that the majority of Baptists felt this way.

The distribution of attitudes on scale (b) is found in Table 29. The distribution of attitudes of the EB grouping in their public checking is J-shaped with almost a complete uniformity of checking on step 3. Almost a majority of the Eb grouping insisted that they had no attitude upon this question. Those of the Eb grouping checking some position formed a J-shaped distribution with the mode on step 3. The difference in checking of step 3 by the two groups equals 57.93 per cent. This equals almost six times the S.E. of the difference.²

When the private attitude of the EB grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, one finds little difference in the two distributions. The difference between the two checkings on step 3 equals 6.53 per cent. This is equal to less than one S.E. of the difference of the two proportions.³

Of the EB grouping checking step 3, 78 per cent felt that almost all Baptists felt likewise; 22 per cent felt that the majority would feel likewise.

ATTITUDE TOWARD BAPTISM

It seemed likely that there was little difference between those with the EB factor and those already studied with the EM factor as far as their attitudes toward the nature of Baptism were concerned. Consequently, this scale was not repeated. A new scale of attitudes regarding who should be allowed to be baptized was

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .084.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .096.

³ The S.E. of the difference equals .076.

TABLE 29
*Attitude Toward the Form of the Lord's Supper*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
EB Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Common cup at altar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Individual cup at altar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Individual cup at pew	40	86.96	xxxxxx	78	22	..	100
4. No attitude	6	13.04	xxxx	..	..	..	..
	46	100.00					
EB Grouping (Pri. Att.)							
1. Common cup at altar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Individual cup at altar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Individual cup at pew	37	80.43	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	9	19.57	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
	46	100.00					
Eb Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Common cup at altar	1	3.23	x	..	..	..	..
2. Individual cup at altar	6	19.35	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
3. Individual cup at pew	9	29.03	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	15	48.39	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
	31	100.00					

¹ There are 46 individuals with the EB factor and 31 with the Eb factor.

introduced. The previously used scale regarding the proper form of Baptism was also utilized.

a. Classification

1. Only those old enough to understand the significance of the ceremony should be baptized.
2. In addition to those old enough to understand the significance of the ceremony, children should be baptized.
3. No attitude.

b. Form

1. Baptism should be by immersion.
2. Baptism should be by either immersion or sprinkling.
3. Baptism should be by sprinkling.
4. No attitude.

The distribution of the individuals studied on these scales is shown in Table 30. The distribution of public attitudes of the EB group is highly J-shaped with the mode on step 1. The Eb distribution indicates almost an equal checking of each step. The difference between the checking of step 1 by the two groups equals 56.27 per cent. This difference equals almost six times the S.E. of the difference between the two proportions.¹

When the private attitude distribution of the EB group is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping little difference can be noted.

Of those checking step 1 in the public attitude distribution of the EB grouping, 93 per cent felt that almost all Baptists felt likewise; 7 per cent felt that only the majority felt this way.

The distribution of individuals on scale (b) is shown on Table 31. The distribution of public attitudes of the EB grouping is J-shaped with the mode on step 1. The distribution of the Eb grouping is more symmetrical. There is a difference, in checking of step 1 by the two groups, of 48.04 per cent. This equals almost five times the S.E. of the difference.²

When the private attitude distribution of the EB grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same grouping, it is seen that there is considerable difference. The mode in private checking falls on step 2 and the difference between public

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .096.

² S.E. of the difference equals .099.

TABLE 30
*Attitude Toward the Nature of Baptism*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of:					
				Universality Among Members			Universal Expectation		
				All	Maj.	Few	All	Maj.	Few
				Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per
				cent	cent	cent	cent	cent	cent
EB Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. Adults only	41	89.13	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	93	7	100	78	22	100
2. Children also	3	6.52	xx	..	..	100	..	..	100
3. No attitude	2	4.35	x	..	..	..	..	..	..
	46	100.00							
EB Grouping (Pri. Att.)									
1. Adults only	41	89.13	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx						
2. Children also	3	6.52	xx						
3. No attitude	2	4.35	x						
	46	100.00							
Eb Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. Adults only	10	32.26	xxxxxx						
2. Children also	9	29.03	xxxxxx						
3. No attitude	12	38.71	xxxxxx						
	31	100.00							

Attitude expected of group members by out-group

	No.	Per cent
1. Adults only	21	67.74
2. Children also	10	32.26

¹ There are 46 individuals with the EB factor and 31 with the Eb factor.

TABLE 31
*Attitude Toward the Form of Baptism*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of: ²					
				Universality Among Members			Universal Expectation		
		All Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	All Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	All Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Tot. Per cent	
EB Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. Immersion only	31	67.39	xxxxxx	74	26	100	87	13	100
2. Either	10	21.74	xxxxxx	..	..	100	..	..	100
3. Sprinkling only	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	5	10.87	xxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
		<hr/> 46	<hr/> 100.00						
EB Grouping (Pri. Att.)									
1. Immersion only	8	17.39	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Either	27	58.70	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Sprinkling only	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	11	23.91	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
		<hr/> 46	<hr/> 100.00						
Eb Grouping (Pub. Att.)									
1. Immersion only	6	19.35	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Either	15	48.40	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Sprinkling only	4	12.90	xxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. No attitude	6	19.35	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..	..	..
		<hr/> 31	<hr/> 100.00						
<i>Attitude expected of group members by out-group (Eb Grouping)</i>									
		No.	Per cent						
1. Immersion only	27	87.10							
2. Either	2	6.45							
3. Sprinkling	2	6.45							
		<hr/> 31	<hr/> 100.00						

¹ There are 46 individuals with the EB factor and 31 with the Eb factor.

² The feeling of universality refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step, that felt that the step was also characteristic of the stated number (All-Maj.-Few) of other members. The feeling of universal expectation refers to the proportion of members of the grouping checking a step that felt that the step was the attitude that the stated (All-Maj.-Few) proportion of the out-group would expect of a Baptist.

and private checking of step 1 equals 50 per cent. This equals almost six times the S.E. of the difference of the two proportions.¹ The form of the private distribution resembles the Eb grouping much more than the EB public checking.

Of the EB grouping checking step 1, 74 per cent felt that almost all Baptists felt the same way; 26 per cent felt that the majority felt this way.

Of the same individuals 87 per cent felt that almost all of the people of the community would expect a Baptist to conform to the behavior expressed on this step; 13 per cent felt that the majority of people of the community would expect a Baptist to conform to the behavior expressed on this step.

A checkup of the attitudes of the expectation of the people of the community revealed the fact that 87.10 per cent of the out-group did expect step 1 to be characteristic of Baptists.

ATTITUDE TOWARD CARD PLAYING

The Baptist Church, as well as the Methodist, is known throughout the community as having certain attitudes on the question of card playing; consequently, the same scale in regard to cards, that was given to the Methodists, was repeated here.

1. I will not play card games of any kind.
2. I will not play games with face cards (but see no harm in playing with flinch cards).
3. I will not gamble (but see no harm in any kind of cards for amusement).
4. I will play any kind of cards (with or without gambling).

The distribution of attitudes is shown in Table 32. The distribution of public attitudes of the EB grouping is J-shaped with the mode falling on step 2. The distribution of attitudes of the Eb grouping is quite symmetrical in form, with the mode falling on step 3. There is no checking of step 1 in any case. The difference in the checking of step 2, by the two groups, equals 27.56 per cent. This equals two times the S.E. of the difference.²

When the private attitude distribution of the EB grouping is compared with the public attitude distribution of the same group-

¹ S.E. of the difference equals .089.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .111.

TABLE 32
*Attitude Toward Card Playing*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	Feeling of Universality			Total Per cent
			All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	
EB Grouping (Pub. Att.)						
1. No cards	29	63.04	..	..	..	100
2. No face cards	17	36.96	xxxxxx	41	36	100
3. No gambling	..	..	xxxxxx	..	47	100
4. Any cards	46	100.00	..	..	..	..
EB Grouping (Pri. Att.)						
1. No cards	6	13.05	..	..	..	..
2. No face cards	34	73.90	xxxx	..	..	..
3. No gambling	6	13.05	xxxx	..	..	..
4. Any cards	46	100.00	xxxx	..	..	..
Eb Grouping (Pub. Att.)						
1. No cards	11	35.48	..	..	..	..
2. No face cards	13	41.94	xxxxxx	..	..	..
3. No gambling	7	22.58	xxxxxx	..	..	..
4. Any cards	31	100.00	xxxxxx	..	..	..

¹ There are 46 individuals with the EB factor and 31 with the Eb factor.

ing, it is seen that there is a considerable shift from step 3 in private attitude to step 2 in public. The difference in checking of step 2 between the two checkings equals 50 per cent. This equals five times the S.E. of the difference.¹

Of the individuals of the EB grouping checking step 2, 31 per cent felt that almost all Baptists felt likewise; 35 per cent felt that the majority felt this way; and 37 per cent felt that only a few were of this opinion.

ATTITUDE TOWARD PROPERTY

There seemed to be a very distinct difference in attitudes toward the Baptist Church property, on the part of the Baptists, from the attitude toward the Methodist Church property, on the part of the Methodists. Where the first group studied felt that their rights to use the property were limited, there seemed to be no feeling of any limitation in the case of the Baptist grouping. The scale was as follows:

1. I have the right to vote on any plan for the use or disposal of the Baptist Church property.
2. I have the right to vote on any plan for the use of the Baptist Church property but nothing to say regarding its disposal.
3. I have the right to vote on any plan for the use of the Baptist Church property if the uses are allowed by the greater Baptist Church.
4. I have nothing to say regarding the Baptist Church property.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 33. There was a complete conformity of checking on step 1, by the EB grouping. There was a complete uniformity of having no attitude on the part of the Eb grouping.

There was no difference between the distribution of private and public attitudes on this issue.

Of those checking step 1 of the EB grouping, 100 per cent felt that almost all Baptists would take the same attitude.

ATTITUDE TOWARD MRS. SALT

One of the principal members of the local Baptist grouping is a daughter of a former preacher of this church. Because of her

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .094.

TABLE 33
Attitude Toward Ownership of Church Property¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
EB Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Complete rights	46	100.00	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	100	100	100	100
2. Unlimited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Limited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. No rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 46	<hr/> 100.00					
EB Grouping (Pri. Att.)							
1. Complete rights	46	100.00	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	100	100	100	100
2. Unlimited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Limited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. No rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 46	<hr/> 100.00					
Eb Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Complete rights	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Unlimited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Limited use	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. No rights	31	100.00	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	100	100	100	100
	<hr/> 31	<hr/> 100.00					

¹ There are 46 individuals with the EB factor and 31 with the Eb factor.

relationship she seems to possess extraordinary rights in church affairs. The various attitudes seemed summarized in the following scale:

a. Mrs. Salt's opinion on church affairs—

1. Should receive more respect than the judgment of ordinary church people.
2. Should be considered of equal value with the judgment of ordinary church people.
3. Should be considered of less importance than the judgment of ordinary church people.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 34. The distribution of attitudes of the EB grouping is moderately J-shaped in form. The distribution of the Eb grouping is fairly symmetrical. The difference in checking of step 1 of the two groups equals 23.14 per cent. This is about two times the S.E. of the difference.¹

When the private attitudes of the EB grouping are compared with the public attitudes of the same grouping we find a difference in mode of one step. The private attitude distribution is more symmetrical in form and somewhat resembles the distribution of the Eb grouping. The difference in checking of step 1 by public and private checking equals 32.60 per cent. This difference equals almost four times the S.E.²

Of those of the EB grouping checking step 1, 87 per cent felt that almost all Baptists felt likewise; 12 per cent felt that the majority would feel the same way.

OTHER ATTITUDES THAT SEEM TO BE CHARACTERISTIC OF BOTH THE EM AND EB GROUPS—BUT NOT OF THE OUT-GROUP

The attitudes studied statistically in regard to the individuals who look upon themselves as belonging to the Methodist and Baptist churches of Elm Hollow are, to be sure, only a few of many modes of behavior. The nature of other attitudes may, perhaps, be inferred from observation of occasional behavior as it occurred in actual pluralistic situations in the community.

A bell is tolled in both churches to summon people to the

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .110.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .094.

TABLE 34
Attitude Toward Former Preacher's Daughter (Mrs. Salt)¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			Total Per cent
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	
EB Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Extraordinary respect	24	52.17	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	87	12	100	
2. Ordinary consideration	18	39.13	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	22	33	45	100
3. Less consideration	4	8.70	xxx	..	25	75	100
	<hr/> 46	<hr/> 100.00					
EB Grouping (Pri. Att.)							
1. Extraordinary respect	9	19.57	xxxxxx				
2. Ordinary consideration	30	65.22	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx				
3. Less consideration	7	15.22	xxxxx				
	<hr/> 46	<hr/> 100.00					
Eb Grouping (Pub. Att.)							
1. Extraordinary respect	9	29.03	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx				
2. Ordinary consideration	14	45.16	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx				
3. Less consideration	8	25.81	xxxxxx				
	<hr/> 31	<hr/> 100.00					

¹ There are 46 individuals with EB factor and 31 individuals with Eb factor.

church services. The bell is tolled some thirty minutes before each meeting. Sometimes, however, the bells, singly or together are used to notify individuals of the community of the danger of fire and it is said that both were rung in celebration of Armistice day in 1918. The apparent relationship of day of the week and hour of the day to the ringing of the bell as a signal announcing the approaching services is perhaps representative of the nature of the complex stimulus situations that call out institutional behavior. No attempt was made to measure the time of arrival of the majority of the people attending the services. Services in either church, however, seldom started at the time set by announcement. Here would seem to be a conflict between the institution in words and the institution in actual action. Undoubtedly there is a common agreement that starting time for service on Sunday morning is 10:30 or soon after.

Shortly after people have arrived and seated themselves the preacher starts the service in either situation by announcing songs to be sung. In the Methodist Church two songs or chants are sung without recourse to song books. It should be noted that the singing of these songs in the case of the Methodist Church tends to make any non-member present conscious of the fact that he is of the out-group. This is also accomplished in the reading of the Apostles' Creed. In either case the rendering of the sacrament makes an out-group member conscious of his being an alien. On the whole, however, it would seem that there are fewer devices of this kind at the meeting of those who think of themselves as Baptists than at the meeting of those who look upon themselves as Methodists.

In other parts of the service instructions are given for the most part so that a stranger is as able to follow directions as a regular member. A collection is taken up in both cases and, although the majority of members in both cases put their offerings in enclosed white envelopes, strangers are not made conspicuous inasmuch as the collection is taken up in a manner which makes each gift quite private.

Certain attitudes of quieter behavior and less boisterous speaking are observed as soon as the people enter the buildings and,

unlike many public buildings, the men never fail to remove their hats. Laughter of any kind is seldom heard in the building and if indulged in, kept at a very modest level. Children are prevented from running and adults never run in the building. These, however, seem to be the chief limitations of behavior until the services commence. It should be pointed out that in the church situations perhaps the significant thing is the inhibition of general personality traits as much as the domination of a particular pattern of action. After the services begin all direction of attention is toward the platform and any conversation in the pews is carried on by low whispering.

The official business of taking care of the taxes on church property, collecting and dispensing of the funds for the preacher's salary, missionary work, etc., is delegated to a committee in each group. All individuals who are members seem to be open to calls for assistance in caring for the church buildings and the home in which the preacher lives. The men of the group have painted the buildings and shingled the roofs while the women often clean the parsonage and provide furnishings. Many individuals also provide gifts in the way of food and fuel to the preacher.

During the week suppers are often held in either church building by women of the groups. Their principal connection with the regular church services seems to be an economic and social purpose. The money raised at such services is often dispensed for support of the preacher or for providing musical instruments or other necessary things for the church services. At the same time such meetings seem to serve as a method of introducing strangers to the members of the group in perhaps a more informal fashion than at the other services.

STUDY III

A—ATTITUDES THAT ASSOCIATE WITH POSSESSION OF THE
IDEOLOGY OF BELONGING TO THE A.K.O. LODGE
(EL FACTOR)

Although ninety-four individuals were found, men and women, who belonged to the A.K.O. Lodge and its auxiliary, this is primarily concerned with the fifty-two individuals who belonged to the men's branch. There is reason to suppose that the attitudes involved in both groups are very similar. Those individuals who looked upon themselves as belonging to the Elm Hollow A.K.O. Lodge are called "those with the EL factor." The out-group is called "those with the El factor."

ATTITUDE TOWARD ADMITTING PEOPLE TO THE LODGE HALL

One of the main attitudes of those with the EL factor seemed to be concerned with the lodge hall. The following scale seemed to give a possible range of attitudes:

I would admit any individual (not a member) to the lodge hall—

1. At any time.
2. At any time when meetings are not in session.
3. At no time.
4. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes is shown in Table 35. There is a complete uniformity of checking on step 2. There was also a complete uniform claim of no attitude on the part of the out-group. When private attitudes of the EL group are compared with public attitudes of the same group, there is a slight difference in checking, although the form of the distribution remains the same. The difference in checking of step 2 equals 11.54 per cent. This difference equals about two times the S.E.¹

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .045.

TABLE 35
Attitude Toward Admitting Non-Members to Lodge Rooms¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent
EL Grouping (Public Att.)			
1. Any time	52	100.00	xxxxxx
2. When no meeting in session	..	..	..
3. No time	..	..	..
4. No attitude	..	..	..
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> xxxxxx
EL Grouping (Private Att.)			
1. Any time	6	11.54	xxxx
2. When no meeting in session	46	88.46	xxxxxx
3. No time	..	..	..
4. No attitude	..	..	..
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> xxxxxx
EI Grouping (Public Att.)			
1. Any time	..	..	..
2. When no meeting in session	..	..	..
3. No time	..	..	..
4. No attitude	..	..	..
	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> xxxxxx
	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> xxxxxx

¹ There are 52 individuals with the EL factor and 26 with the EI factor.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INITIATION AND OTHER CEREMONIES IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE OUT-GROUP

A second attitude of importance was regarding the importance of keeping secret certain matters of initiation and certain ceremonies. The following scale summed up this issue:

a. Information about the nature of the initiation or other ceremonies:

1. I would reveal none to non-members.
2. I would reveal some to non-members.
3. I would reveal most to non-members.
4. I would reveal all to non-members.
5. No attitude.

The attitudes regarding this issue are shown in Table 36. The distribution of public attitudes of the EL group is highly J-shaped with almost a conformity on step 1. The El grouping uniformly possessed no attitude. The difference between the two groups is, then, .042.

When private attitudes of the same group are compared with public attitudes, the distribution remains J-shaped, but with a much smaller checking on the modal step. The difference between the checking of step 1 in public and private attitudes by the El group equals 17.30 per cent, or over two times the S.E.¹

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ASSISTANCE OF THE LODGE TO THE NEEDY

One of the chief characteristics of the individuals who possessed the idea of belonging to the Elm Hollow lodge was their belief in the value of being a lodge member for its insurance value. They seemed to feel that a lodge member had little to fear if sickness or straitened circumstances should overtake him. The following scale seemed to give the range of attitude:

a. Because of my relationship to the A.K.O. lodge my fear of ever suffering privation or having my family suffer from my sickness, loss of employment, etc., is:

1. Less than other individuals (non-members).
2. The same as other individuals.
3. Greater than other individuals.
4. No attitude.

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .074.

TABLE 36
Attitude Toward Secrecy of Ceremonies, Etc.¹

EL Grouping (Public Att.)	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent
1. No information	47	90.38	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
2. Slight information	2	3.85	x
3. Most information	3	5.77	xx
4. Any information	..	..	..
5. No attitude	..	..	..
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 100.00	
EL Grouping (Private Att.)			
1. No information	38	73.08	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
2. Slight information	8	15.38	xxxx
3. Most information	2	3.85	x
4. Any information	4	7.69	xx
5. No attitude	..	..	..
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 100.00	
EI Grouping (Public Att.)			
1. No information	..	..	..
2. Slight information	..	..	..
3. Most information	..	..	..
4. Any information	..	..	..
5. No attitude	26	100.00	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 100.00	

¹ There are 52 individuals with the EL factor and 26 with the EI factor.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is seen in Table 37. The distribution of public attitudes of the EL grouping is

TABLE 37

Attitude Toward Lodge Assistance to Needy

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent
EL Grouping (Public Att.)			
1. More assurance	41	78.85	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
2. No more assurance	11	21.15	xxxxxx
3. Less assurance	..	..	..
	52	100.00	
EL Grouping (Private Att.)			
1. More assurance	35	67.31	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
2. No more assurance	17	32.69	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx
3. Less assurance	..	..	..
	52	100.00	
E1 Grouping (Public Att.)			
1. More assurance	2	6.67	xx
2. No more assurance	21	70.00	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
3. Less assurance	7	23.33	xxxxxx
	30	100.00	

There are 52 individuals with the EL factor and 30 individuals with the E1 factor.

J-shaped with the mode on step 1. The distribution of the E1 grouping is highly asymmetrical with the mode on step 2. There is a difference of 72.18 per cent in the checking of step 1 by the two groups. This difference equals ten times the S.E. of the difference.¹

The shape of the distribution of private attitudes of the EL grouping is of the same form as the public attitudes of that group. There is slightly less checking of the mode, however, and the difference on step 1 equals 11.54 per cent, or about one S.E.²

ATTITUDE TOWARD MEMBERSHIP IN THE LODGE AS AN AID IN BUSINESS

Another prevalent belief was that belonging to the lodge aided one in business and elsewhere in a profitable way. It was said

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .072.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .086.

that lodge members generally patronized fellow-members in business and that the patronizers received better service and prices than non-lodge people. The scale presented was as follows:

- a. My relationship to the lodge results in:
 - 1. More profitable business relationships.
 - 2. No more profitable business relationships.
 - 3. Less profitable business relationships.
 - 4. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is found in Table 38. The distribution of the public attitudes of the EL group is

TABLE 38
Attitude Toward Lodge Assistance in Business

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent
EL Grouping (Public Att.)			
1. Better bargains	32	61.54	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
2. No better bargains	16	30.77	xxxxxxxxxxxx
3. Poorer bargains	4	7.69	xx
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 100.00	
EL Grouping (Private Att.)			
1. Better bargains	25	48.08	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
2. No better bargains	21	40.38	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx
3. Poorer bargains	6	11.54	xxxx
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 100.00	
El Grouping (Public Att.)			
1. Better bargains	3	10.00	xxx
2. No better bargains	22	73.33	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
3. Poorer bargains	5	16.67	xxxxx
	<hr/> 30	<hr/> 100.00	

There are 52 individuals with the EL factor and 30 with the El factor.

J-shaped with the mode on step 1. The distribution of the El group is symmetrical with the mode on step 2. The difference between the two groups in the checking of step 1 equals 51.54 per cent. This equals about six times the S.E.¹

The distribution of private attitudes of the EL group is less steep than the public distribution and the mode represents a

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .087.

smaller proportion of the group. The difference on step 1 equals 13.46 per cent. This is slightly over one S.E.¹

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CHURCH

The lodge is said to stand for certain Christian principles and to be in many ways identified with the purposes of the church. Consequently the following scale was given:

- a. I attend church with other lodge members—
 - 1. Regularly.
 - 2. Occasionally.
 - 3. Never.
 - 4. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes is shown in Table 39. The distribution of public attitudes of the EL grouping has its mode on step 2. The mode represents the greater proportion of the group. The mode of the El grouping was a complete uniformity of checking on step 1. The difference on step 2 between the two groupings is qualitative.²

There is no difference between the public and private checkings of the EL group.

B—OTHER ATTITUDES THAT SEEM TO BE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE EL GROUPING

Although no systematic attempt was made to study other than the items already presented, certain attitudes seemed common, generally, to those who identified themselves with the lodge. In addition to the general policy regarding admission of non-members to the lodge rooms during ceremony times, there was a general spirit of secrecy regarding ritual and initiation. Although the latter ceremony was a perfectly gentle ceremony there seemed to be considerable tendency to pretend that it is very mysterious and even rough. References to riding the goat are made and veiled insinuations given that one may expect a rigorous physical ad-

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .096.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .084.

TABLE 39
Attitude Toward Attending Church in Group¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent
			xx
EL Grouping (Public Att.)			xxxxxx
1. Never	4	7.69	xxx
2. Occasionally	48	92.31	xxxxxx
3. Regularly	..	..	..
	<u>52</u>	<u>100.00</u>	
EL Grouping (Private Att.)			xxxxxx
1. Never	4	7.69	xxx
2. Occasionally	48	92.31	xxxxxx
3. Regularly	..	..	..
	<u>52</u>	<u>100.00</u>	
EI Grouping (Public Att.)			xxxxxx
1. Never	30	100.00	xx
2. Occasionally	..	..	..
3. Regularly	..	..	..
	<u>30</u>	<u>100.00</u>	

¹ There are 52 individuals with the EL factor and 30 with the EI factor.

venture. In reality the initiation is no more physically arduous than the ceremonies of the girl scouts. There were individuals, however, who seemed to be unimpressed with the necessity of keeping lodge affairs secret.

The references and definite attitude of secrecy when in the presence of members of the out-group has, no doubt, gone far to produce an attitude of expectation of the mysterious on the part of the latter individuals.

Drama seems to play an important rôle in the initiation ceremonies. The plays given are generally dramatic productions symbolizing brotherhood and goodwill such as the David and Jonathan or Damon and Pythias legends. These dramas are produced by the members of the lodge and, although at their best they are decidedly amateur performances, universal references are made on all such occasions to the productions as being "nice work." Members who recite memorized parts of the ritual are often held in esteem because of the ability to reproduce parts of great length. Members, long since dead, are often recalled for their ability to take parts in long ceremonies without missing a word. One wonders after witnessing the ceremony and ritual why there is any need for secrecy about these things.

Regular meetings of the lodge are held once a week. Very elaborate means are provided for getting into the lodge-room. A series of doors are watched by sentinels, and sentries check each member for a password. Once in the room, various officers are distinguished by a different kind of hat they put on their heads and members are discriminated between according to term of membership, by different colored belts. The password, if forgotten, may be obtained only by application to the presiding officer and then only if dues are paid. Thus an economic policy is mixed with the rest of the ceremony. Although individuals hold to this policy in public, many individuals do (privately) give away the password to some other member who has forgotten.

Regular business meetings last only a short time. After disposing of such items as paying the electric light bill, sending flowers to the sick, making plans for a future party, the meeting is

quickly adjourned and members proceed to the adjoining rooms for cards or billiards.

Many stories are told regarding the belief that a lodge member can secure better business dealings and "pull" from other members in other places. One individual relates how, on one occasion, a brother from a fellow lodge, who was a railroad dispatcher, stopped a crack New York train to let him off in his home town. A second tells of how a friend fell ill in a strange town without money, where presentation of his pass card resulted immediately in his being taken to a hospital where he was given care.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF ATTITUDES OF THE IN-GROUP

This study aimed to discover the characteristics which might differentiate individuals who possessed the idea of belonging to intra-community groupings, from people of the community at large. The data just presented is mainly concerned with four groupings of a small rural community. The attitude differences between the individuals of the groups thus established seem of such nature that they might be expected to exist in the case of similar groupings elsewhere.

Several issues indicated no differences greater than chance between the people of the community at large (the "out" group) and those of the community who looked upon themselves as belonging to a certain grouping (the "in" group), such as the church, lodge, or Republican Club. The fact that these differences often approached 2 S.E., however, seems to indicate that the preliminary hypothesis that the "in" group would have a characteristic attitude on these variables was not entirely unfounded. The following list indicates the issues on which differences less than 3 S.E. were found between the "in" and the "out" groups.

Table	Attitude Continuum	Relation of Obtained Difference to Its S.E.
15	1. Ability of preachers sent to Elm Hollow (EM and Em groups).....	1
25	2. Propriety of theater attendance (EM and Em groups).....	1
28	3. Nature of Lord's Supper (EB and Eb groups)....	1
21	4. Nature of Lord's Supper (EM and Em groups)...	1+
34	5. Respect for Mrs. Salt in church affairs (EB and Eb groups).....	2

On other issues differences greater than chance were found between members of the "in" and members of the "out" groups. Some attitudes held by the first group were also held by the second.

Other attitudes seemed held only by members of the "in" groups. The magnitude of the S.E. of the difference partially indicates the degree to which an attitude is held by the "in" group only. It also takes into consideration, however, the incidence of the attitude among members of the "in" group as well. When an attitude is held by very many members of the "in" group and by none of the "out" group, a very high S.E. is found. Low incidence among the "in" group or a low degree of exclusiveness of the attitude to the "in" group or both, of course, leads to smaller S.E.'s of the difference.

The following table lists the issues on which differences greater than 3 S.E. were found between the "in" and the "out" groups studied. The issues are arranged in order of the size of the S.E.

Table	Attitude Continuum	Relation of Obtained Difference to Its S.E.
24	1. Attitude toward church property (EM and Em groups).....	∞
33	2. Attitude toward church property (EB and Eb groups).....	∞
35	3. Attitude toward lodge rooms (EL and El groups).....	∞
36	4. Attitude toward secrecy of lodge ceremonies (EL and El groups).....	22
23	5. Attitude toward the discipline (EM and Em groups).....	19
41	6. Attitude toward candidates with personality in opp. party (ER and Er).....	12
20	7. Attitude toward form of baptism (EM and Em group).....	11
37	8. Attitude toward assistance lodge renders needy (EL and El groups).....	10
16	9. Consideration of bishop for community (EM and Em groups).....	8
17	10. Attitude toward returned preacher (EM and Em groups).....	8
18	11. Attitude toward card playing (EM and Em groups).....	7
22	12. Attitude toward form of Lord's Supper (EM and Em groups).....	6
29	13. Attitude toward form of Lord's Supper (EB and Eb groups).....	6
30	14. Attitude toward who should be baptized (EB and Eb groups).....	6
38	15. Attitude toward lodge as an aid in business (EL and El groups).....	6
31	16. Form of baptism (EB and Eb groups)	5
19	17. Nature of baptism (EM and Em groups).....	3
32	18. Attitude toward card playing (EB and Eb groups)	3

It is difficult to draw any generalizations concerning the type of issue on which great differences, as measured by the S.E., occur between the "in" and "out" groups. On five attitude variables very high differences were found. Of the five, three were issues on which suggested modes of behavior are found in codes. Attitudes toward property are, of course, suggested in law books and the Methodist Episcopal Discipline is the official guide to Methodist behavior in many situations.

High differences, in the other two instances, were found in regard to members' attitudes toward lodge ceremonies and the lodge room, and non-members' attitudes toward the same situations. The high uniformity of attitude of the "in" group toward the secrecy of lodge ceremonies and toward privacy of the lodge rooms seem a result of the particular stressing of these two conditions in the lodge situations.

As the differences grow smaller between the "in" and "out" group, it is often noticed that the mode of both groups occurs on the same step, the differences resulting from the fact that the "in" group has a greater proportion checking the step.

It is interesting to examine the form of attitude distributions on continuums where a difference greater than chance was found to exist between the checking of the two groups. The form of the attitude distribution of the "in" group was always J-shaped with three exceptions which were I-shaped. The J-shaped distributions are sometimes very steep, approximating the I-shaped distributions and uniformity. Other J-shaped distributions were only relatively steep. In the main, the distributions were of a smooth nature. Instances were found, however, where checking of steps remote from the mode received a higher checking than intermediate steps. This would seem to be a chance fluctuation, or sampling error.

The attitude distributions of the "out" group when they were found to exist on an issue were, in the main, moderately asymmetrical in form. Some symmetrical distributions were found.

The attitude variables on which significant differences were discovered between the two groups are shown in order of the size of the mode of the "in" group.

Table	Attitude Continuum	Per cent on Modal Step
24	1. Attitude toward M.E. property (EM and Em groups)	100.00
33	2. Attitude toward Baptist property (EB and Eb groups).....	100.00
35	3. Attitude toward lodge room (EL and El groups).....	100.00
27	4. Attitude toward compensating choir members (Em and Em groups).....	94.12
39	5. Attitude toward attending church in group (EL and El groups).....	92.31
23	6. Attitude toward the discipline (EM and Em groups).....	92.16
16	7. Consideration of bishop of community (EM and Em groups).....	92.16
36	8. Attitude toward secrecy of lodge ceremonies (EL and El groups).....	90.38
20	9. Form of baptism (EM and Em groups).....	90.20
18	10. Attitude toward card playing (EM and Em groups).....	90.20
30	11. Attitude toward who should be baptized (EB and Eb groups).....	89.13
29	12. Form of Lord's Supper (EB and Eb groups).....	86.96
17	13. Attitude toward returned preacher (EM and Em groups).....	80.40
37	14. Lodge assistance to needy (EL and El groups).....	78.85
22	15. Form of Lord's Supper (EM and Em groups).....	72.54
27	16. Attitude toward compensating janitor (EM and Em groups).....	68.63
31	17. Form of baptism (EB and Eb groups).....	67.39
32	18. Attitude toward card playing (EB and Eb groups) ..	63.04
38	19. Attitude toward lodge as an aid in business (EL and El groups).....	61.54

It has been pointed out that the distributions of the "in" group, on issues where their checking significantly differs from that of the "out" group, are J-shaped or I-shaped. As a result of this fact, the mode is an index of the steepness of the distribution. The steepest distributions are, of course, the I-shaped distributions, representing a uniformity of checking. This type of distribution is typified by the church groupings' attitudes toward property. It seems possible that the extreme uniformity noted in these instances may be a result of the way in which the property scales are built. The property scales were concerned with the rights of individuals toward the use or disposal of certain church buildings. Members of church groupings seemed completely

agreed as to their rights regarding these buildings. Certain discussion heard among the Methodists at a later date seemed to indicate that these scales are attitudes toward what people consider their legal relationship to this property to be rather than a statement of what their actual behavior toward it might be. One individual was heard to observe that, although the Bishop could recover the church building by court action if the community were to take it for a union church, he did not believe that he would dare to do so in the face of public opinion.

It is also noted that the two scales showing the Methodists' attitude toward payment of choir members and the janitor showed high modes. As both of these scales represent corporate behavior, for the choir members or the janitor would be paid by an elected treasurer rather than by individual contributions of members, it might seem possible that corporate behavior is inclined to be highly J-shaped. Inasmuch as such behavior would involve little sacrifice of other desires of the individual, for the money is not the individual's to use anyway, this seems natural enough. The attitude toward the discipline represents an attitude toward a code book, and perhaps this explains its high mode.

Low modes or gentle J-shaped distributions are found in the cases of the Baptists' attitudes toward card playing and the lodge members' attitudes toward the amount of assistance in business dealings that lodge membership brings. These distributions seem to indicate a condition where, although people are supposed to hold an attitude by tradition, many do not. There is a general tradition that lodge membership helps one in business but not too many lodge members felt it to be an actuality. The Baptists were supposed to be opposed to playing with face cards, but many of them actually played bridge and five hundred.

The private attitude distributions of the "in" groups were sometimes asymmetrical, sometimes moderately asymmetrical and often symmetrical in form. Inasmuch as all public distributions were J- or I-shaped, a difference of considerable size is likely to mean a private distribution that is symmetrical or moderately

symmetrical. A small difference generally occurs when both public and private distributions are J-shaped. The following list ranks the issues in the order of the greatest difference between the public and private checking.

Table

Attitude Continuum

Relation of
Obtained
Difference
to Its S.E.

20	1. Attitude toward form of baptism (EM and Em groups).....	11
18	2. Attitude toward card playing (EM and Em groups).....	10
16	3. Consideration of bishop for community (EM and Em groups).....	7
30	4. Attitude toward who should be baptized (EB and Eb groups).....	6
32	5. Attitude toward card playing (EB and Eb groups).....	5
34	6. Respect for Mrs. Salt in church affairs (EB and Eb groups).....	4

The attitudes on which the private checking differed significantly from the public checking might seem to be statements of issues in the community at the present time. In many instances the behavior indicated as the public attitude is a mode of behavior long since given up in larger communities by similar groupings but still remaining in Elm Hollow. The fact that significantly different attitudes did not occur on the majority of scales seems important to consider.

Three points seem worth consideration in regard to the attitudes studied. (1) The form of the public attitude distribution of the "in" group is always J-shaped (or I-shaped). (2) The form of the attitude distribution of the "out" group, when they admit an attitude, is likely to be symmetrical or moderately asymmetrical. On many issues, however, large numbers claimed to possess no attitude. (3) The private attitude distribution of the "in" group often falls into a symmetrical or moderately asymmetrical distributions, although the public distribution is J-shaped on the same variable.

It is important to note that in the instances studied, the mode of the "in" group and the mode of the "out" group were seldom more than a single step apart. The moderately symmetrical dis-

tribution of the "out" group, and of the private attitudes of the "in" group, would fall into a J-shape by a shifting of the mode of one step. In less homogeneous communities this might not occur. It is evident then that on most issues the differentiation of the "in" group from the community at large is a result of a high incidence of checking of a point just one step beyond from the mode of the people of the community at large.

The general nature of the distributions of the "out" group and of several private attitude distributions of the "in" group suggest that there are situations where people of the community at large, and where group members privately, are influenced by so many factors in adopting an attitude that any distribution of many individuals in a similar situation results in the usual distribution of compound probability, the normal distribution. Inasmuch as such an attitude seems to be the result of the evaluation of many factors, such a choice might be called a personality choice.

Members of the various intra-community groups seem effected in a different way in the public situations of the community. Members, who in private often adopt a personality choice on an attitude variable, are found to make a choice that is common to their fellows in public. The J-shaped distribution of public attitudes would seem to be a distribution on a variable which is effected by some common additional weighted factor entering to change the personality distribution and causing a banking up of attitudes on the terminal step.¹

These considerations are well illustrated in the distribution, showing the attitudes of the EM grouping toward card playing.

¹ The hypothesis of the J-shaped distribution which is put forward in this study, as a form of distribution characteristic of institutional behaviors, was formulated jointly by Floyd H. Allport and the writer, as a result of the inspection of the writer's data. It has been corroborated in a recent study of traffic by Mr. Milton C. Dickens. A theoretical statement of the hypothesis in its relation to social problems and social psychology, based largely upon the findings of this study and the one of Mr. Dickens, is presented in Chapter VII, of *Psychology at Work*, Paul S. Achilles (ed.), New York, 1932. Further investigation of this hypothesis is now being carried on in industrial, ecological and economic fields.

EM Grouping (Public Attitudes)

1. No cards	..
2. No face cards	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
3. No gambling	xx
4. Any cards	xx

EM Grouping (Private Attitudes)

1. No cards	..
2. No face cards	xxxxxx
3. No gambling	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
4. Any cards	xxx

Em Grouping (Public Attitudes)

1. No cards	..
2. No face cards	xxxxxxxx
3. No gambling	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
4. Any cards	x

Just what the common weighted stimulus may be is not altogether clear. It is suggested, however, that inasmuch as the J-shape distribution is the feature that characterizes "in" group members (individuals possessing the ideology of belonging to an institutional grouping) that such a stimulus be called an institutional stimulus and the resulting attitude distribution an institutionalized attitude.

It should be borne in mind that the J-shaped distribution seems to be found on variables on which group members would be forced to make some sort of adjustment whether the additional weighted factor is present or not. The distribution of private attitudes of the "in" group, and the ordinary distribution of the "out" group, seem to indicate that, lacking the common weighted factor, a normal or moderately asymmetrical distribution would result, and not a checking of "no attitude."

These findings have been more recently substantiated by a study of traffic by Milton C. Dickens. In his study, he discovered that, unaffected by a common weighted factor, people's behavior at street intersections fell into the normal distribution. With the addition of a common factor, as the presence of a stop light or traffic policeman, a J-shaped distribution resulted.

If, in instances that have been described, the attitude variables studied were ones about which members of the "in" group, in the course of events, must adopt some form of adjustment, the problem arises as to what effect an institutional stimulus could have on the behavior of individuals on some problem which ordinarily

would not demand any adjustment whatsoever. People driving a car along a street are forced to make some adjustment to street intersections, under all circumstances. An institutionalized stimulus may act as a common factor to produce a J-shaped distribution. People, however, may often be unconcerned with the snow on their sidewalks. If an ordinance were passed requiring the removal of snow before a certain hour, one wonders what effect an enforcement officer would have upon behavior of householders. If they were removing the snow anyway, a J-shaped distribution might be expected. Inasmuch as their normal behavior, however, is simply inactivity, one wonders what effect the weighted factor would have on a distribution of behaviors. This is the sort of problem one runs into in the question of voting, where inactivity rather than some form of activity is the natural course of adjustment. A more complete understanding of the question involved will be furnished when participation is discussed.

In several instances in the banking up of attitudes in a J-shaped distribution, a logical possibility more extreme than the modal step existed. Thus it seemed logical to assume that if playing "any kind of card games" was one end of a variable, then "playing no card games at all" was a reasonable opposite terminal. No one checked the latter step, however, and in all other cases no checking occurred beyond the mode in one direction. This, of course, is obviously why the distributions are termed J-shaped.

Several factors aid in explaining this circumstance. First it is suggested that the mode on the J-shaped distribution is a position that few individuals hold out of personality choice. This is verified by the private attitude distributions and the distributions of the "out" group. It is a mode of behavior to which most people must be forced by social pressure. The naturalness of this assumption can be seen by consulting the nature of the scales. For example, the scale giving possible attitudes that the Methodists might take toward a preacher returned by the Bishop against their vote allowed for these steps: Complete readjustment and forgiveness; Temporary coöperation without inter-

ference; Non-interference, but no coöperation; Open opposition. It would seem from the checking that either of the middle steps is most natural. Under certain circumstances Methodists will adopt a common, although unusual form of behavior, co-operation for a year until the appointment of a new preacher is secured. No single person, however, suggested a complete readjustment to the preacher who had been voted out.

Institutionalized behavior in this sense, seems to be an abnormality rather than a normal adjustment. In order to satisfy other wants, many individuals give up their usual form of behavior and adopt a uniformity that involves some sacrifice, but which evidently accomplishes more than it costs. There is no point, however, in making a greater sacrifice than is demanded.

In fact, although complete readjustment seemed logically a terminal of the variable to the investigator, many church people maintained that it had nothing to do with the question at hand. It seems probable that some confusion exists regarding the nature of the scales used. Because they were gathered by an inductive process, an element, that seems absolutely necessary in the study of this type of behavior, crept in unrecognized. At the outset of this study the possibility of attitude continuums of more than one kind regarding the same item was not thought of and the main emphasis was upon placing the various attitude steps collected in correct relationship to one another. It seems that, whereas the investigator had been inclined to see the relationship between steps on a variable as logical, the people checking them looked at them from a different viewpoint.

Historically, it is said that the prejudice against face cards is said to be derived from the Puritan prejudice against the nobility and their gambling customs. Inasmuch as the nobility gambled with cards upon which were pictures of knights and ladies, such cards were taboo in Puritan homes.

Undoubtedly, the present attitudes on cards must be maintained for a different reason as the nobility is long since gone. It would seem, however, that the attitude of church people on cards is intended to be such that it contains an element that separates them from a world more carnal than they. Gambling is

highly improper for a church member. Therefore playing with gambling cards is none too proper. Logically one might expect the next step to be that cards of any kind should not be indulged in. However, no one suggested this step. The differentiation was evidently aimed at gambling and connections with those who gamble and not at card playing as such. Flinch and Rook are perfectly proper games to the most orthodox of churchmen. The question arises as to whether any behavior can be more proper than proper. If Flinch and Rook are proper then the question, as to whether playing with cards is wrong, does not arise. It would seem that the arrangement of steps on the scale were in teleological order as well as in logical order. The arrangement allowed the individuals checking the step to think of the variable as representing various degrees of accomplishing certain ends. But when the steps were thought of as various means of accomplishing an end, certain terminal steps, which seem logically enough connected to the variables by the investigator, were found not related to the issues at all.

This would be especially true if put in terms of language. Goil, gurl, and gerl may be pronunciations of the same word, girl. Goil might be a very improper pronunciation; gurl might be improper, but not so bad a pronunciation. Gerl, however, is correct.¹ To try to add another possible pronunciation makes the confusion between the logical scales and the teleological ones quite evident. There is no possible addition to a teleological scale beyond the correct. This brings up the question as to whether the scales studied should not have been in two steps, the mode as one and the other steps as the second. One step would be the proper and the other the improper behavior. Consideration shows, nevertheless, that, although we tend to think of the correct or proper as one step, it is quite natural to divide the incorrect into many steps which we rate in varying degrees of impropriety.²

¹ In gerl e is pronounced as the second e in refer.

² Mr. Dickens since encountered the same difficulty in regard to his study of traffic. He had four steps to his scale: Stop; Slightly Slow; More Rapid; No Decrease in Speed. The question arises as to whether he should not have simply Stop and Go. It seemed obvious that, whereas the first seemed one step only, the other steps, if viewed as violation of the traffic laws, seemed arranged in an order which indicated greater violations of the law.

It would seem possible, then, that the J-shaped distributions are results gained through a certain method. Many scales are couched in terms of human values and present a description of behavior, either spoken or non-verbal, in the presence of the people of the community at large. The arrangement of the steps is in terms of the fulfilment of the purpose and represent steps of valuation and not objective differentiation of behavior. The scale intervals are obviously not of equal distance. It seems clear, nevertheless, after consulting the majority of distributions that this has little effect on the interpretations given. If a simple dichotomy of the modal and other steps were used the results would be essentially J-shaped in most instances.

It should be pointed out that there is considerable justification for these scales as arranged and for the distributions as discovered. In this study one of the principal purposes was to differentiate aggregates of people by attitude differences in the hopes that such a division might present a picture resembling the layman's concepts of groups. This seems to be done in a clear-cut fashion by these scales. In addition to the differentiation considerable light is shed upon the nature of social relationships in the multi-individual situations in which these attitudes play a part.

When groupings possessing a common ideological factor could be differentiated from those lacking the same factor in terms of attitude differences (although single individuals on single attitude variables might not resemble the majority of the others) the inclusion of all individuals with the ideology always gave J-shaped distribution on the particular item. It seems possible that while particular individuals might not completely conform on separate items, in general the tendency was toward conformity. This might be due possibly to a time error. Inasmuch as the life cycle of one individual may run at different rates than his neighbor's, when one individual might be found outside the mode today, if a fresh sample were taken at a later date he might be found on the mode. By that time, due to the errors of sampling, his neighbor, whose behavior was found on the mode today, might be found

among the non-conformists. Certainly time studies of attitudes would be well worth undertaking.

It should also be pointed out that equal scale intervals might contribute almost nothing to the understanding of the problem of institutional groupings. The important thing to the people studied was not how far apart on a scale "Baptism by Immersion" was from "Baptism by Sprinkling," but the fact that many conceived it impossible to hold both attitudes at the same time. From the investigator's standpoint the incidence on the particular attitude as compared with the incidence on another, was more important than the distance between the two. The amount of checking indicated the possibility, in the case of the church groupings, of finding an agreement between the Methodists and the Baptists that would allow union.

After social problems are discovered on the scales as indicated, attitude studies on scales, such as the Thurstone scales of affect, might reveal considerable about the intensity to which individuals hold to these attitudes. Such scales in terms of equal intervals and of many steps contribute little to a social problem as the one indicated here, where the chief difficulty could be resolved into three positions, believing in: Baptism by immersion only; Baptism by sprinkling; Baptism, but unconcerned regarding the particular method used by the church.

Other objections to finely differentiated scales are obvious for the purposes desired here. Although perfectly apparent in meaning to members of a group, some steps are often only various degrees of the same thing to non-members. To a person who believes baptism superstitious, baptism by immersion or by sprinkling may appear to be only ramifications of the same position. To the Methodists and Baptists they may be highly different attitudes. On scales of refined discrimination this effect could only be augmented.

A tendency toward uniformity was very nearly reached in certain instances. The usual discovery of some lack of uniformity might not be necessarily a time function, but a real characteristic of the individuals studied. It would seem possible, inasmuch

as there were often private attitude deviations from the J-shaped distribution of public attitudes, that people who are in reality non-conformists adopt only as little conformity as they must to remain accepted members of the grouping. Their motive for wishing to remain accepted members of the grouping might be financial, desire for companionship or other reasons. One would expect, however, that continued association in the grouping would result in eventual conformity.

Inasmuch as the usual distribution on a particular attitude variable (of those who admitted the institutional ideology) was a J-shaped distribution, a concept of an institution might be many J-shaped distributions. Sometimes the distributions are relatively steep, sometimes they show a tendency toward less conformity. A concept of an institution in this case might be analogous to a cone of irregular proportions, with the apex representing the acme of conformity and the base the tendency toward non-conformity.

In the final analysis the value of these scales would seem to rest upon the value they possess for explaining social phenomena otherwise difficult of explanation. The test might seem to be pragmatic.

The relationship of the feeling of universality to the maintenance of a common public attitude among most group members seems a direct one. How such a feeling is created in circumstances when the public attitude of the majority is held at a point which almost none of them hold privately is an interesting problem. It has been pointed out that on certain issues the Baptists seem considerably dominated by the opinions of a Mrs. Salt. The high feeling of universality on the same issues, however, indicated that she alone could not be held responsible for this condition. Inasmuch as Mrs. Salt is a vigorous woman and in the habit of giving her views on a subject considerable public expression, her attitude on a question is perhaps most often heard in public. It might be possible that people frequently hearing this oracle of the church expound her opinions, accept her views as typical of the group without critical enumeration of just how many believe

as she. The feeling of universality may be considerably founded on public expression of a few individuals who actually hold the attitude in question.

Dr. Allport has called situations where individuals are unaware of the attitudes of others, situations of pluralistic ignorance. In such a condition, the feeling of universality may be based often upon projection and not upon reality. Only under such circumstances could such a condition occur as is seen in several tables where the public attitudes of almost the entire group are maintained at a point which more than the majority do not hold privately.

In such a condition the feeling of universality and other mechanisms as projection are allowed to work. An individual may project an attitude into other group members from observation of their reactions to speeches, conversation, etc. As a result of a feeling that this projected attitude is universal among the group members, the individual may then desire to conform to the group standard and adopt the projected attitude himself. In this way an entire group may maintain a public position in contradistinction to the private attitudes of the majority or over. In such a situation a dissolution of pluralistic ignorance is likely to result in the group members abandoning their public position and adopting their private attitude in public situations also.

It would seem that previous attitude studies have taken too much for granted about the amount of integration of an average individual. When attitudes were found that did not seem to fall into the apparent pattern of the individual studied, they were thrown out as of no value and were labeled rationalizations or viewed as faulty results of poor techniques of investigation. There was assumed a real man and efforts were bent to discover him. He was supposed to be a very elusive creature, however, who would attempt to mislead the investigator by presenting behavior that was calculated to hide his soul from the world.

It seems that there is no such thing as a real man. A man when with the Romans may do as the Romans do. In the study just concluded people were found to possess at least two atti-

tudes on the same variable and perhaps under some conditions they might have more. At any rate individuals seem to possess first a personality adjustment to the problem before them. This seemed to be an adjustment that was possible when the situations called forth many elements of the personality, without anything in the situation demanding the dominance of a particular attitude. The final path of behavior was an integration of these elements resulting in the characteristic response of the individual studied. Secondly, in certain situations, some factors in the stimulating conditions seem of sufficient weight to call forth an adjustment of individuals which instead of being unique to the individual was characteristic of the majority.

Just what exists in the situations where individuals tend to adopt common behavior in contradistinction to their private or personality adjustment is a matter of interest. In the instance of the attitudes of Baptists toward baptism, the investigator was inclined to believe that the public attitude was maintained out of submission to the opinions of a woman in the group who possessed a very dominating personality. An investigation of this question, however, indicated the existence of additional conditions. The majority of individuals seemed unaware that any one else held an opinion similar to their private or personality adjustment. There was a strong feeling that almost all other members of the group believed in the modal step on the public attitude distribution of the group. The feeling of the prevalence of an attitude among others, Dr. Allport has termed the "feeling of universality." It seemed that along with the public attitude goes a strong feeling of universality of this attitude among other group members, although no particular feeling that it is a characteristic attitude of people at large. It is suggested that this feeling be called "a feeling of universality in the group."

Several scales were rechecked to see if there were differences in this feeling in regard to different attitudes. People were allowed to say whether they felt an attitude characteristic of "almost all," "the majority" or only "a few" of the group members. The following table lists the scales in order of the magnitude of

the feeling that "almost all" other members felt the same way as one checking the modal step on an attitude distribution.

Table

Attitude Continuum

Per cent of
Modal Step
Feeling Almost
"All" Felt
the Same Way

33	1. Toward church property (EB group).....	100
24	2. Toward church property (EM group).....	100
27	3. Toward compensating choir members (EM group)...	95
27	4. Toward compensating janitor (EM group).....	92
22	5. Toward form of Lord's Supper (EM group).....	91
28	6. Toward nature of Lord's Supper (EB group).....	89
20	7. Toward form of baptism (EM group).....	89
21	8. Toward nature of Lord's Supper (EM group).....	88
34	9. Toward Mrs. Salt (EB group).....	87
16	10. Bishop's attitude toward Elm Hollow (EM group)	81
19	11. Toward nature of baptism (EM group).....	80
33	12. Toward the Discipline (EM group).....	79
29	13. Toward form of Lord's Supper (EB group).....	78
31	14. Toward form of baptism (EB group).....	74
25	15. Toward theatre attendance (EM group).....	63
17	16. Toward returned preacher (EM group).....	56
18	17. Toward card playing (EM group).....	44
32	18. Toward card playing (EB group).....	31
15	19. Toward preacher's ability (EM group).....	5

The feeling of universality seemed to be a function of two things: first, the degree to which attitudes of the group could be objectively verified by group members, and second, the actual degree to which these attitudes existed among group members. On many issues (such as Table 22, Attitude toward the form of the Lord's Supper, and Table 20, Attitude toward the form of baptism) no objective criterion was present of people's private attitudes and the feeling of universality was high, although actually universality was low. It would seem that in such cases the high feeling of universality is partly a result of projection. On other issues where the feeling of universality was high (such as Table 27, Attitude of church members toward compensating choir members; and Table 33, Attitude toward church property), although no objective criterion of private attitudes is present, the actual universality of the attitude was high. Finally, some attitudes were possible of objective verification (such as in Table 32, Attitude toward card playing; and Table 25, Attitude toward

theatre attendance). In such cases where universality was low, the feeling of universality was also low.

People of the community were commonly acquainted and each knew the groups to which another owed allegiance. As a result, individuals of the group not only felt that some attitudes were universal among their fellows, but felt also that people of the community at large expected certain attitudes of them as typical group members. In many cases this seemed justified, for when the feeling of universal expectation was compared with the actual expectation of the "out" group, the estimate and the actuality were in considerable agreement. In other instances the feeling of universal expectation seemed based upon pure projection, for the "in" group members seemed quite in ignorance of the attitudes which "out" group people of the community-at-large felt to be characteristic of the group (or, in their language, of the local Methodist or Baptist Church). A comparison of the "in" group's feeling of universal expectation with the actual expectation of the "out" group is given in the table on the following page. The table attempts to give, in summary, a picture of these conditions by comparing the feeling of universal expectation (the feeling that people of the community expected certain attitudes of group members) of those who constituted the mode on several distributions with the actual expectation of the "out" group. For example, if forty-one individuals of those known as Methodists checked a position of being opposed to face cards, the percentage of this forty-one who felt that (1) almost all, (2) the majority, (3) a few of the community would expect Methodists to be opposed to face cards is given. These percentages are then available for comparison with the percentage of a sample of the community at large who actually felt that Methodists were opposed to face cards. In Tables 18 and 20 it is seen that the mode of the Methodist group believed that baptism should be by sprinkling and also were opposed to card games played with face cards. These attitudes against face cards and of preferring baptism by immersion were rather commonly expected of Methodists by non-Methodists.

SUMMARY TABLE FOR COMPARING FEELING OF UNIVERSAL EXPECTATION WITH ACTUAL EXPECTATION

Table	Attitude Continuum	No. on Mode Step	Actual		
			Per cent of Mode Feeling that the Following Proportion of the Community Who Expected Mode Step of (Methodists) Group Members	Proportion of a Sample of the Community Who Expected Mode Step of (Methodists) Group Members	Proportion of a Sample of the Community Who Expected Mode Step of (Methodists) Group Members
17	Attitude toward the returned preacher (Meth.)	41	.82	.10	.06
18	Attitude toward card playing (Meth.)	46	.82	.10	.06
20	Attitude toward form of bap- tism (Meth.)	46	.63	.21	.14
23	Attitude toward the discipline (Meth.)	47	.50	.31	.06
24	Attitude toward the church property (Meth.)	51	1.00	..	..
30	Attitude toward the nature of baptism (Bap.)	41	.78	.21	..
31	Attitude toward the form of baptism (Bap.)	31	.87	.09	..

In other instances the feeling of universal expectation was based on pure projection. On other issues, as in the case of Tables 17 and 23, there was little correspondence between the attitude expected of Methodists by the "out" group and the attitude that Methodists felt that the "out" group expected of them.

It also was noted that in some instances the feeling that an attitude is expected by the "out" groups is greater among members than their feeling of the prevalence of the attitude among other members. This is seen in Tables 17, 18 and 31. The probable explanation of that fact seems to lie in the fact that the group was, perhaps, somewhat aware (as a whole) of possessing private attitude in contradistinction of their public attitudes, and felt that non-members were not aware of these inconsistencies.

These facts throw some light on the nature of a community. Only in a relationship where people know each other well enough to know each other's group affiliations, as well as what the group members stand for (together) could these happenings take place. One would not expect a stranger to the community to know either fact, nor would it be possible that people meeting in a large city would know them. Projection, therefore, runs higher in a small community. It seems probable that the feeling of universal expectation in some cases leads to the intensification of the attitude in the group members, as the expecting of lodge members to be mysterious.

An instance of universal expectation was seen in the course of the investigation where the feeling that the members of the "out" group expected a certain attitude of the members of the group seemed to really effect the course of behavior of the group.

In the initiation ceremony of the A.K.O. Lodge it is customary to present each candidate with a Bible on which the seal of the lodge is embossed. This has been the custom of this lodge for many years. Recently a lodge member suggested that this custom be discontinued. He pointed out that he had not read a Bible for years and doubted very much that any other member of the

lodge had done so. A long one-sided debate followed in which it was evident that few favored this discontinuance.

The substance of the arguments of those opposed to giving up this custom seemed to be largely centered upon the impression that this action might have upon people of the community at large. It was pointed out that the lodge is expected to foster Christian principles. This argument seemed convincing, for an overwhelming majority voted to continue the practice of giving Bibles. Except in the lodge ceremony there is little evidence that the lodge is concerned with Christian principles, but nevertheless desires to maintain the reputation of standing for Christian ideals.

Why certain attitudes have been stamped as typically Methodist, Baptist, or A.K.O., and other attitudes apparently not noticed, is open to conjecture. It would seem that on many points, such as the attitude of the groups toward card playing, the publication was a result of the fact that, in community affairs, this attitude must necessarily often appear publicly. The attitude of the churches toward baptism has been a source of humor to many non-members, and seemingly was remembered to the exclusion of many other attitudes perhaps as important.

Furthermore, in this rural community a situation seems to exist that might not be found in city situations. People apparently do not belong to more than one group which is concerned with the same issues. An individual may have a personality preference on the question of baptism, his church relationships may cause him to adopt another adjustment. The community at large situation seems to produce the same attitude as the church situation. Strangely enough the personality adjustment seems inhibited in all except situations where an individual is with intimates. This, of course, refers to issues on which the individual has a public attitude which is different from his private attitude. This circumstance seems not difficult to explain. Willey,¹ in a study of the small town newspaper, found that there seemed

¹ Willey, M. M. The influence of social change on newspaper style. *Sociology & Social Research*, 1928, 13, 1-7.

to be two codes of ethics, a back fence code and a public code. Some news could be circulated to intimates, but could not be put in the public newspaper. In the city this situation did not occur and much of the material privately circulated in the rural districts obtained front page space in the city. Due to the inter-relationships of life in the community, an individual is obliged to maintain a consistency in all groups that might be termed "public," inasmuch as they contain certain individuals with all of whom the former cannot be in intimate relationship. All acts or words which appear outside of the privacy of the family or intimate situations have the possibility of being circulated at large. If there is need of inhibiting an attitude among Methodists it must be inhibited in the lodge situation, for members of the lodge are in intimate contact with other Methodists, and any deviations of behavior will very likely be reported to others.

Due to this process of communication, even an "out" group member of the community seems to serve as an institutional stimulus to cause the public attitude to come into functioning. In a larger situation where the process of communication does not carry over from group to group, an individual might have an attitude on a question for every group to which he belongs, without any demand for consistency. A business man might have a church, a business, and a private attitude, none of them alike, on the same subject, prohibition. Inasmuch as his business associates do not come into contact with his church associates, nor his private life, no consistency is demanded.

It would seem that the two attitudes discovered in this study have a direct relationship to the community situations. The terms public and private, although adequately describing them for this study, might not be valid in a city situation. It would seem to be better then to call the private adjustment a personality attitude, and the attitude that seems to be a result of a weighted stimulus and which throws the individual into conformity with most of his fellows, an institutional attitude.

It could then be said that an individual in a rural community has but one institutional attitude on a variable, which attitude

seems to be called forth in public situations or in the community at large, in preference to his personality adjustment.

Finally, it is interesting to note that, although individuals may be members of the Methodist Church, the A.K.O. Lodge, the Young Men's Republican Party, and even to another lodge, the Masonic, no individual may belong to both the Methodist and Baptist churches at one time. The two churches seem mutually exclusive. It would seem that, perhaps, the reason back of this fact is that, while their attitudes on many issues coincide, on some they are antagonistic. Thus, one could not worship by taking the Sacrament at the altar one Sunday and at his seat the next Sunday. One could not be baptized by immersion and by sprinkling. One could not worship in two ways unless neither way was absolutely necessary to his belief. That the grounds that make these two churches mutually exclusive are not as secure as many people believed, seemed evident to the writer.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

It seemed as important to know general community attitudes as to know those attitudes that differentiated members of one intra-community grouping from another.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE TARIFF

In the conversation of the man on the street this community is often labeled as Republican. As Republicans are reputed to have a particular attitude which favors a high protective tariff, this scale was given:

1. I believe in no protection, such as free trade; or, if there is to be a tariff, one for revenue only.
2. I believe in a low tariff for protection, but a tariff only high enough to protect American industries which are at a great disadvantage in meeting foreign competition.
3. I believe in a high tariff for protection of the majority of American industries.
4. I believe in a complete embargo on all imports to protect any American industry.

The attitudes on the issue are shown in Table 40. The public attitude distribution of the E grouping is J-shaped in form. The modal step is step 3. The distribution of attitudes of the e grouping, however, seems identical. There is a difference on step 1, between the two groups, of 8.08 per cent. This is equal to less than one S.E. of the difference.¹

When the public distribution of the E group is compared with the private distribution of the same group, it is evident that the principal difference is not in form, but in the degree of checking of the modal step. The difference in the checking of step 1, between the two groups equals 6.55 per cent. This does not equal one S.E. of the difference.

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .107.

TABLE 40
Attitude Toward the Tariff as a Means of Protecting American Business¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
E Grouping (Public Att.)							
1. No protec., free trade, tariff for revenue only	5	8.20	xxx	..	..	12	100
2. Low tariff for protec.	9	14.75	xxxxx	77	18	5	100
3. High tariff for protec.	38	62.29	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. Embargo, complete protec.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. No attitude	9	14.75	xxxxx	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 61	<hr/> 100.00					
E Grouping (Private Att.)							
1. No protec., free trade, tariff for rev. only	8	13.11	xxxx	..	..	..	..
2. Low tariff for protec.	8	13.11	xxxx	..	..	..	..
3. High tariff for protec.	34	55.74	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. Embargo, complete protec.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. No attitude	11	18.03	xxxxx	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 61	<hr/> 100.00					
e Grouping (Public Att.)							
1. No protec., free trade, tariff for rev. only	1	3.70	x	..	..	..	..
2. Low tariff for protec.	2	7.41	xx	..	..	..	..
3. High tariff for protec.	19	70.37	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. Embargo, complete protec.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. No attitude	5	18.52	xxxxx	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 27	<hr/> 100.00					

¹ There are 61 individuals with the E factor and 27 with the e factor.

Of those of the E grouping checking step 1, 77 per cent felt that almost all of the people of the community would feel the same way on this issue; 18 per cent felt that the majority would feel this way, while 5 per cent felt that only a few would have this attitude.

ATTITUDE TOWARD PROHIBITION

The prohibition question is a complex issue. Inasmuch as this community is classified in conversation as dry, the following scale was presented toward the Volstead Act.

In eliminating or continuing the elimination of the evils of alcohol:

1. I favor enforcement of the Volstead Act.
2. I am in doubt, but believe the Volstead Act should be given a fair trial.
3. I am in doubt, but believe that the Volstead Act should be modified.
4. I believe that the Volstead Act should be modified.

The distribution on this issue is shown in Table 41. The distribution of attitudes of the E, as well as the e group, was J-shaped in form. The mode in both cases came on step 1. The difference between the two groups on this issue, in checking of step 1, equaled 7.10 per cent. This is too small a difference to be considered other than an error of sampling.¹

The private attitude distribution of the E group is also J-shaped. There is a difference between the public and private checking of step 1 equal to 13.11 per cent. This difference approaches two times the S.E. of the difference between the two proportions.²

Of those checking step 1, 86 per cent felt that almost all of the people of the community felt likewise; 8 per cent felt that the majority of the individuals of the community felt this way, while 5 per cent felt that only a few possessed this attitude.

ATTITUDE TOWARD ELM HOLLOW'S PLACE IN TOWNSHIP POLITICS

There seemed to be a definite attitude on the part of many Elm Hollow people to the effect that the people of this district were more or less impotent in township politics, because Bucktown,

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .106.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .081.

TABLE 41
Attitude Toward Prohibition (Volstead Act)¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality				Total
				All	Maj.	Few	Per cent	
<i>E Grouping (Public Att.)</i>								
1. Favor enforcement	45	73.77	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	86	8	5	100	
2. Fair trial	7	11.48	xxxx	57	29	14	100	
3. Modification trial	5	8.20	xxx	..	20	80	100	
4. Modification	4	6.55	xx	..	..	..	..
5. No attitude	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	61	100.00						
<i>E Grouping (Private Att.)</i>								
1. Favor enforcement	37	60.66	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx					
2. Fair trial	11	18.03	xxxxxx					
3. Modification trial	8	13.11	xxxx					
4. Modification	5	8.20	xxx					
5. No attitude	..	..	..		
	61	100.00						
<i>e Grouping (Public Att.)</i>								
1. Favor enforcement	18	66.67	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx					
2. Fair trial	1	3.70	x					
3. Modification trial	4	14.81	xxxx					
4. Modification	3	11.11	xxx					
5. No attitude	1	3.70	x					
	27	100.00						

¹ There are 61 individuals with the E factor and 27 with the e factor.

the other large community in the township, dominated every election. They felt that in all fairness, Bucktown and Elm Hollow candidates should alternate in holding township offices. The scale was as follows:

1. Bucktown candidates tend to monopolize township offices to an unfair degree and to an almost exclusion of Elm Hollow candidates.
2. Bucktown candidates hold the township offices more than their fair share of the time, but Elm Hollow candidates are elected on occasion.
3. Bucktown candidates and Elm Hollow candidates divide the offices in a fair proportion when the relative size and voting strength of the two places are considered.
4. Elm Hollow candidates hold the township offices more than their fair share of the time, but Bucktown candidates are elected on occasion.
5. Elm Hollow candidates tend to monopolize township offices to the almost exclusion of Bucktown candidates.
6. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 42. The distribution of attitudes of the E grouping is asymmetrical. This is also true of the distribution of the e grouping. There is a difference between the two groupings in the checking of step 2 equal to 28.78 per cent. This difference equals over two S.E.¹

The distribution of private attitudes of the E grouping shows a less checking of step 2. The mode is now on step 3. The difference in checking of step 2 equals 16.22 per cent. This difference equals over two S.E.²

Of those checking step 2, 2 per cent felt that almost all of the rest of the community felt likewise; 57 per cent felt that the majority felt that way, while 40 per cent felt that only a few felt this way.

ATTITUDE TOWARD A CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL

One of the important issues confronting the community and a neighboring village was the question of the desirability of a consolidated school. Both school buildings were obsolete and overcrowded. There was a distinct feeling that a consolidated

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .093.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .078.

TABLE 42
Attitude Toward Elm Hollow's Place in Township Politics¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality			
				All Per cent	Maj. Per cent	Few Per cent	Total Per cent
E Grouping (Public Attitude)							
1. Complete exclusion	6	8.11	xxx	33	50	17	100
2. Unfair advantage	35	47.30	xxxxx	3	57	40	100
3. Fair division	32	43.24	xxxxxx	13	65	22	100
4. Unfair advantage	1	1.35	x	..	..	..	..
5. Complete exclusion	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. No attitude	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 74	<hr/> 100.00					
E Grouping (Private Attitude)							
1. Complete exclusion	6	8.11	xxx	..	..	..	..
2. Unfair advantage	23	31.08	xxxxx	..	..	..	..
3. Fair division	44	59.46	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. Unfair advantage	1	1.35	x	..	..	..	..
5. Complete exclusion	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. No attitude	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 74	<hr/> 100.00					
e Grouping (Public Attitude)							
1. Complete exclusion	1	3.70	x	..	..	..	..
2. Unfair advantage	5	18.52	xxxxx	..	..	..	..
3. Fair division	12	44.44	xxxxxx	..	..	..	..
4. Unfair advantage	2	7.41	xx	..	..	..	..
5. Complete exclusion	7	25.93	xxxxx	..	..	..	..
6. No attitude	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 27	<hr/> 100.00					

¹ There are 74 individuals with the E factor and 27 with the e factor.

school might be desirable, but a quarrel existed over the proper location. The scale presented was as follows:

1. The superiority of the Elm Hollow location over other sites is very great and there is almost nothing to be said for other locations.
2. The Elm Hollow location is superior, in general, but there is much to be said for other locations.
3. The advantages of locating at Elm Hollow have equal merits with those of other locations.
4. Other locations are superior, in general, but there is much to be said for the Elm Hollow site.
5. The superiority of the other locations over Elm Hollow is great and there is almost nothing to be said for Elm Hollow.
6. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes is shown in Table 43. The distribution of public attitudes of the E group is fairly symmetrical in form. Of the e group, a high percentage checked no attitude. Those who did check an attitude seemed to be bi-modally distributed along the steps of the scale. The difference between the two groups on step 2 equaled 48.47 per cent. This difference equals over six times the S.E. of the difference.¹

The form of the distribution of the private attitudes of the e grouping is similar to that of the public checking of the same group. However, there is a much less checking of step 2. The difference between public and private checking on step 2 equals 24.40 per cent. This difference equals almost three times the S.E. of the difference.²

Of those checking step 2, 75 per cent felt that almost all of the people of the community would feel the same way.

ATTITUDE TOWARD A UNION OF CHURCHES

There was a movement on foot in the community to effect a union of the two churches. The following scale seemed to give a range of attitudes expressed:

1. I believe that the two churches of Elm Hollow should unite as one church.
2. I believe that the two churches of Elm Hollow should hold union services, coöperatively develop young people's work, etc., but do not believe they should give up their separate identities.
3. I believe in friendly coöperation but believe that each church should carry on its own work.

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .071.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .075.

TABLE 43
*Attitude Toward Consolidated School*¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality				Total Per cent
				All	Maj.	Few	Per cent	
<i>E Grouping (Public Att.)</i>								
1. Elm Hollow only	12	14.63	xxxxx	25	42	33	100	
2. Elm Hollow first	51	62.20	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx	75	13	12	100	
3. Both equal	15	18.29	xxxxxx	..	27	73	100	
4. Other site first	1	1.22	x	..	..	100	100	
5. Other site only	2	2.44	x	..	..	100	100	
6. No attitude	1	1.22	x	..	..	..	..
	82	100.00						
<i>E Grouping (Private Att.)</i>								
1. Elm Hollow only	11	13.41	xxxxx					
2. Elm Hollow first	31	37.80	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx					
3. Both equal	25	30.49	xxxxxxxxxx					
4. Other site first	1	1.22	x					
5. Other site only	4	4.88	xx					
6. No attitude	10	12.20	xxxx					
	82	100.00						
<i>e Grouping (Public Att.)</i>								
1. Elm Hollow only	3	5.88	xx					
2. Elm Hollow first	7	13.73	xxxxxx					
3. Both equal	6	11.76	xxxx					
4. Other site first	8	15.69	xxxxx					
5. Other site only	3	5.88	xx					
6. No attitude	24	47.06	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx					
	51	100.00						

¹ There are 82 individuals with the E factor and 51 with the e factor.

4. I believe that the churches of Elm Hollow should have nothing to do with each other, carrying on their work as each sees fit without reference to the other.
5. No attitude.

The distribution of attitudes on this issue is shown in Table 44. The distribution of the public attitudes of the E group is J-shaped with the mode on step 1. The distribution of the e group is multi-modal. The difference between the two groups on step 1 equals 56.04 per cent. This difference equals almost seven times the S.E. of the difference.¹

The distribution of private attitudes of the E group is also multi-modal. However, the checking of step 1 far exceeds the checking of any other step. The difference in checking of step 1 in public and private checking equals 23.08 per cent. This difference equals almost three times the S.E. of the difference.²

Of those checking step 1, 67 per cent of the number felt that almost all of the people of the community felt the same way; 23 per cent felt that the majority did, and 9 per cent felt that a few felt the same way.

¹ The S.E. of the difference equals .089.

² The S.E. of the difference equals .070.

TABLE 44
Attitude Toward the Community Church¹

Attitude	No.	Per cent	x equals 3 per cent	Feeling of Universality					
				All	Maj.	Few	Per cent	Per cent	Total
E Grouping (Public Attitude)									
1. Complete union	64	70.33	xxxxxx	67	23	9	100	100	100
2. Union in some respects	5	5.49	xx						
3. Coöperation but not union	12	13.19	xxxx						
4. Independence	6	6.59	xx						
5. No attitude	4	4.40	x						
	<hr/> 91	<hr/> 100.00							
E Grouping (Private Attitude)									
1. Complete union	43	47.25	xxxxxxxxxx						
2. Union in some respects	8	8.79	xxx						
3. Coöperation but not union	13	14.29	xxxx						
4. Independence	6	6.59	xx						
5. No attitude	21	23.08	xxxxxx						
	<hr/> 91	<hr/> 100.00							
e Grouping (Public Attitude)									
1. Complete union	3	14.29	xxxxxx						
2. Union in some respects	2	9.52	xxx						
3. Coöperation but not union	6	28.57	xxxxxx						
4. Independence	4	19.05	xxxx						
5. No attitude	6	28.57	xxxxxx						
	<hr/> 21	<hr/> 100.00							

¹ There are 91 individuals with the E factor and 21 with the e factor.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATURE OF COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

It seems obvious that if the scales regarding the tariff and prohibition (Tables 40 and 41) are really representative, Elm Hollow as a community might well be classified as high tariff and dry. It would seem, however, that such a classification is somewhat faulty, inasmuch as the attitudes of the people of the community on these issues do not differentiate them from the other people of the study. Being dry and in favor of a high tariff seems to be a characteristic of people with a greater geographical locus than this community and perhaps of people in a relationship known as a region.

On the attitude toward Elm Hollow's place in politics (Table 42), and in the attitudes toward the consolidated school (Table 43), and toward the union of churches (Table 44), differences are found between the community and non-community peoples. The private attitude distributions are little less skewed than the public ones in each case.

There is a distinct difference in the shape of the distributions; the prohibition distribution is J-shaped for both public and private attitudes, while the tariff, consolidated school, place in politics, and union of churches issues have highly asymmetrical public distributions and slightly more symmetrical private ones. It seems possible that the J-shaped prohibition distribution represents the attitude of some group of people including most of the people of the community that would be found to be connected with a similar sort of ideology to that discovered associated with attitudes of the intra-community groups.

The fact that many of the private attitude distributions are more normal in shape than the asymmetrical public distributions they accompany, suggests that these attitudes may be in process of being institutionalized.

The feeling of universality shown on the prohibition mode was by far the highest; 86 per cent checked the feeling that almost all other people of the community feel the same way. The tariff was second, with 76 per cent of those on the modal step believing that almost all other people of the community felt the same way. Of those on the modal step on the consolidated school issue, 74 per cent felt that almost all of the people of the community felt the same way, while 67 per cent of those on the step of highest incidence regarding the union of churches felt that almost all other people of the community were likeminded. An interesting deviation from this usual tendency was found regarding the issue of Elm Hollow's place in township politics. Only 2 per cent of those on the modal step felt that almost all other people felt the same way. In fact, a step of lesser checking than the mode had a higher feeling of universality. It might seem that these last results indicate attitudes in different stages of change. Although the greater amount of people held step 2 in the scale toward Elm Hollow's place in township politics, the fact that they do not show a high feeling of universality and are surpassed in this respect by those on another step, might seem to be the result of a condition where an issue has not been argued or discussed enough to create that feeling. The higher feeling of universality on the part of those taking a more extreme attitude than the mode seemed, in one instance, to be due to personal connections with the issue. Some were ardent believers in their own position and this seemed to aid them in believing that others must think likewise.

Community attitudes seem, in general, to follow an asymmetrical but not J-shaped tendency in most instances. Perhaps, if this community were an organized community, some of these asymmetrical distributions might assume a J-shape under no pressure other than that of give and take within the community. High asymmetry seems a result of the social relationships here. These might be termed unorganized community relationships, and may be a characteristic of such a social relationship.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATURE OF BEHAVIOR IN THE MULTI-INDIVIDUAL SITUATION—OFTEN CALLED THE COMMUNITY

The preceding account of the attitudes of two hundred and thirty-one individuals, the locus of whose activities, occupational, dwelling, trade, etc., generally centers within a marked geographical range seems to illuminate many problems that have been described in previous studies in other than individual terms.

In an individual sense, the nearest thing to the community of the man on the street seems to be a concept of individuals in a geographical arrangement that makes possible common acquaintance, common possession of certain ideas and attitudes, and other social mechanisms of communication and contact. These mechanisms seem of especial importance. An individual's dwelling and trade habits might be confined to an apartment house. City apartment houses, however, have never been thought of in terms similar to those which even the non-critical suggest as their ideas of a community. It has been felt that certain processes, not included in the situation first described, are at work in the second. Just what these processes and mechanisms are no one has ever described in individual terms.

The first mechanism might be said to be that of the "in" group—"out" group relationship. This includes reciprocal attitudes of men who can be called members of intra-community groupings, in the sense just described in the chapters on intra-community groupings, and men who are considered non-members. Mere occupation of geographical space without other social processes would not make possible the relationships discovered in this study between members of the "in" and members of the "out" groupings. Only under conditions of contact where people are rather intimately acquainted and where communication is frequent would we expect people to feel that their attitudes were in many ways public property. Only under such conditions would

we expect group members to have a feeling that non-members had definite attitudes of expectation toward group members (expecting certain attitudes as typical of those belonging to the group). Were one a stranger or relatively seldom in communication with the others studied the feeling of an expected form of behavior would not be required. A stranger does not know what attitude to expect of a stranger. The feeling of universal expectation described would seem to be a function of a community multi-individual situation.

The inhibition of private tendencies in favor of attitudes supposedly held by other members of an institutional grouping relationship might be expected in situations not necessarily analogous to the community. Thus, although members might be separated, individuals of a group might maintain a public attitude out of fear that travelers or visitors might carry the news of their attitudes to other members of the group. The maintenance of such a discrepancy at all times in public situations, however, would seem to occur only in instances where other members of the groupings are either always present or where any deviation from expected forms of behavior will always return to their ears. This sort of a situation seems to be typical of the relationship termed the community.

A secondary result of the same general process is the fact that no more than two attitudes were discovered on the same variable. It seems that one might have a different attitude for every person that one met. The maintenance of some consistency would only depend upon the degree of communication between people who were met. If they were not in communication a different story could be told to each individual. A man could lead one life at the Elks Club, another at the office, a third at home, and a fourth at the golf club. In the situation we have been studying, the appearance of only two attitudes seems to indicate some common element in all public situations that results in one standardized form of behavior represented by the J-shaped distribution. As a result there is only one attitude in addition to an individual's personality choice. This also seems to be a typical result in the community situation as defined.

Another factor would seem to be that not only does the community situation make necessary a consistent showing of a particular institutional attitude in public situations, but it also results in a tendency toward common attitudes among all individuals of the community. The feeling of universality of some attitudes throughout members of the community would seem to indicate that contact processes are at work regarding this factor.

It is evident then that the statement of the locus of the activities of individuals would never give a complete picture of the relationships that exist in the individual sense akin to the community of the layman. Processes of communication and contact making possible the phenomena described must be added to make a concept of the community.

The geographical differentiation of groups when made, is obviously made in terms of what Dr. Allport has called total inclusion. The community is a concept of whole individuals in geographical proximity. This fact is important to bear in mind when intra-community groupings are considered.

It was also evident that the people of the relationship just described as a community tended to separate in terms of other relationships that we have called intra-community. In differentiating smaller groupings from each other the geographical factor seems to be unimportant. The alignments of individuals could not be made in terms of geography (the locus of certain habits of different collections of people of the community). The differentiation of the intra-community groupings is made in terms of possession of attitudes or of different degrees of attitudes. This must at best be a differentiation in terms of partial inclusion. It is not made in terms of the whole individual but in terms of specific characteristics. To think of the two as being the same is dangerous. One is a practical inclusion classification, the other a total inclusion classification. There is danger, though, in adopting any names for the concepts, inasmuch as the securing of the names makes possible an eventual taking of the concept for a percept.

It would seem that one additional circumstance should be discussed. The world seen through the microscope of a scientific

attitude seems a very different picture than when seen through the lenses of practical life, which include the coloring of emotional adjustment, of aims and prejudices, of interest and antipathies. The existence of groups as entities may be demonstrated in a scientific sense, but farmers and merchants are not scientists. It seems of importance in conclusion to relate these findings to the usual viewpoint of the man on the street and to speculate as to the reasons for and the origin of his thinking habits.

If any average inhabitant of Elm Hollow were asked, in some distant part of the state, where he lived, he would answer "Elm Hollow." If questioned further he might say, "It is a little town of three hundred on the Bucktown turnpike" and might go on to speak of its schools, churches, lodge, etc. as if these were entities existing apparently apart from people. This tendency seemed universal throughout the study.

Dr. Allport has suggested that this kind of thinking is based upon (1) Convenience, (2) The ability to control behavior of others by means of symbols, (3) The ability to release emotions and produce in us a feeling of self elevation. It is essentially a process founded upon psychological wishes by which concepts gradually come to be regarded as realities and its universal nature seemed to indicate that it is founded upon a very prepotent basis.

In examining the ideology of these people regarding groupings, it was pointed out that the use of prepositions indicated considerable difference in attitude toward differing groupings. People lived "in" a community, and the community was "at" a cross road. People "belonged to" the church, lodge and Young Men's political club. People were "on" the school board and the board of trustees of the church. Even the first unanalyzed ideas must be based in some respects upon a realistic datum plane. "In" obviously connotes fraternity; "at," place; "belonging to," identification; and "on," superposition. In the individual sense these differences seem explainable. The geographical factor defined as part of the community relationship easily gives a basis for "at" in the individual sense. The processes that have just been described resulting from contact and communication make the feeling of fraternity completely possible. The attitudes of

ascendancy and submission involved in the institutional attitudes regarding the school board and the teaching force, for example, make superposition an easy way of statement of their relationship. The use of the group as a unit for convenience sake is fairly apparent. It is a short cut method of expression, but even so, seems based upon some realistic data.

The value of this process of making an entity out of a concept for purposes of control was also noticed. One elderly woman was very much wrapped up in the Baptist church. Although not liked by the majority of members, she dominated much of their activity. This deference was principally due to the fact that her father had been a former preacher of the church. Now her father has been dead for thirty-five years; the church has been remodeled, every one of his parishioners, save one, is gone and in fact, in the realistic sense, nothing except the property upon which the building rests remains the same. Should people think realistically and in individual terms, Mrs. Salt's position in the group relationship would be threatened indeed. So the belief in an historic church in individuals at large has allowed Mrs. Salt to control the members for many years. The particular incident mentioned gives some insight into the development of these habits. Mrs. Salt has excellent reason for thinking in terms of the "group fallacy." The young people of the grouping have less reason for accepting the type of thinking. Mrs. Salt, however, possesses a very ascendant personality and is quite capable of forcing her view onto people by sheer personality advantage. The fact is that she enjoys her leadership, but it is very improbable that people would submit to her personality tyranny as completely as they do if it were not for the partial motivation provided in her relationship to an historical church.

The value of the process as a means of releasing emotions and producing in us a feeling of self-elevation is also noted. One of the first things impressed upon a stranger is the fact that this community has had a glorious past. Many of the older natives remember when this was a thriving countryside with mill wheels buzzing busily. This was in the days before steam. The people that can recall these days derive a great deal of pleasure and

self-elevation from the recollection of these glorious days. If institutions and communities are conceived in the individualistic sense, the personal connection with this bit of history disappears. If a community is viewed as a relationship of individuals to each other and to geography then the tie between the present and past may completely dissolve. This is not the community of yesteryear. The symbolizing of a community as an entity is a means of preserving all of its history and the self-elevation that it gives to be related to that history. All of this might disappear if a town is viewed as a relationship of living individuals.

The use of the "group fallacy" releases self-elevation in other ways. A lodge member was heard praising the part this lodge played in the war with as much pride as if he had been with the army himself.

It may be objected that there is no evidence that the data presented in the individualistic sense has any relationship to the community and intra-community groupings of the man on the street, and that the data, that has been presented, refers to the same facts can never be proved. It can only be said that what has been discovered seemed to approximate in the realistic sense, the concepts and language of the layman.

His concepts are the first unanalyzed ideas of people toward grouping and, upon analysis, tend to disappear. The mystically minded individual may claim this as proof of his point of view and claim that groupings and institutions are unanalyzable.

There is no intention of decrying the fact that in the greater portion of our life we act upon first ideas and not analysis. Institutions and other groupings may disappear as entities upon critical thinking, but people do not think critically. If scientific development is to take place in this field of phenomena fraught with the coloring of human affairs, we must, however, proceed upon a realistic plane. This material is advanced as suggestive of methods of study of human relationships of this type. That it is final is very much doubted. The field was a virgin one, the methods used are dubious in many instances, the data gained not above question, but it might be argued that this is always true in primitive studies. It is hoped that more controlled study may be possible.

SUMMARY

It would seem worthwhile to summarize the findings of this investigation from two standpoints. First, an attempt will be made to give an enumeration of the facts discovered which seem to be new contributions to the description of society and social relationships. In the second place, these facts, inasmuch as this was a project in comparative methodology as well as an investigation testing an individualistic viewpoint's powers in research, will be evaluated with the more traditional findings in the literature of social relationships.

In the ideology of the people studied, Elm Hollow community seemed a very specific affair. In the findings of the study, the nearest facts to the common sense idea of a community seemed to be a statistical statement of modes of behaviors of individuals. The locus of these behaviors revolved in and about a certain geographical range. This description seems quite in agreement with part of the usual definition of a community in sociological literature. The statistical conception, however, emphasizes in a worthwhile degree the impossibility of allocating all individuals to the community with any sense of accuracy. There were many border line cases and there the matter of allocating the individual to a category of the community, on the basis of overt action or of ideology represented in speech behavior, became purely arbitrary. The dividing line between the community as defined in this study and the world around it was a hazy marking.

The spatial outlines of the territory in which the people of Elm Hollow lived bore out many of the contentions of the human ecologists. The similarity of the spatial outline of this community situation with other villages in New York State was pointed out. When some of the psychological choices back of the history of this development are seen, some of the limitations of the ecological method are evident. The ecologist might predict from the water power resources, from the valleys between the hills, from the railroad possibilities, the spatial development of

this and other nearby communities. He could never predict, however, when with the same power resources, same topography, etc. this development would not take place. Some of the facts of human conduct which nearly caused another spatial development at Elm Hollow have been related.

Finally, certain characteristics seemed unique to the individuals who were grouped into the community category (on the basis of their ideology and the preliminary study of the locus of their behaviors).

Some people in the community were found to possess two attitudes upon the same issue. These seemed characteristic of two types of situation. Logical and statistical evidence has been presented to argue that, inasmuch as the distribution of attitudes of the first type followed a normal distribution tendency, these attitudes reflected the personality choices of the individuals studied. In the second instance, the attitudes studied fell into a J-shaped distribution with the mode on the extreme of the attitude-gamuts constructed. The latter type of attitude was found to associate with the possession of institutional ideology and has been termed an institutional attitude.

The first type of attitude seemed to be the reflection of a situation which has many elements which are either unloaded or never consistently weighted in the same direction. The response to such a situation demands an evaluation of all these factors. As in any case of compound probability the distribution here tended toward a central tendency.

The second type of distribution seemed to reflect a situation in which certain elements have taken on extra value and have become important enough to secure some degree of uniformity of response from those affected by them.

Now it was interesting to note that even in the second situation, where certain elements seemed to be weighted enough to cause a J-shaped distribution of those with the institutional ideology, the same factors seemed to have no such weighting to people at large. In fact a distribution of attitudes of those lacking the institutional ideology gave a personality distribution as just defined.

It seemed evident that there were situations in the community which would evoke the institutional behavior from the grouping which possessed the institutional ideology but which would only release a personality reaction from non-members.

This condition seems to give a background for the interpretation of many findings in the traditional literature. Willey, for instance, in his study of small town newspapers found a back fence and a public ethics of gossip. According to our interpretation, the back fence situation would allow people to gossip according to personality inclinations: one reticent individual might say nothing where another garrulous individual might say much. In the public situation the weighted factor enters and secures an institutional response. We would say in terms of the older sociology that there are occasions when the community situations act as an institutional situation for all its members.

A search was conducted for factors which appear in situations causing the Methodists, for instance, to inhibit their personality choices in favor of a tendency toward uniform behavior while no such effect is had upon non-Methodists. Some of the factors have been called: (1) The feeling of universality, (2) The feeling of universal expectation. A study of these factors revealed a high degree of connection between the appearance of the institutional attitude and the prevalence of a belief that other members universally hold the same attitude. There was also a high degree of connection between the appearance of the institutional attitude and a belief that non-members of the community expected this institutional attitude of people who called themselves Methodists.

In many instances the feeling of universality and the feeling of universal expectation did not check up very closely with the actual prevalence of the attitude or the prevalence of the expectation of the attitude. This seemed particularly true in instances of behavior where there is little chance for each individual to check up objectively the attitudes of his neighbors.

Situations were discovered in which attitudes were maintained with a high feeling of universality only because of ignorance of other people's beliefs. An actual check up showed cases where

almost nobody personally believed in the institutional position and yet each believed that almost all other members subscribed to the attitude. These have been called situations of pluralistic ignorance.

The relationships of institutional attitudes to non-members of an institutional grouping through such feelings as that of universal expectation indicate a statement in an individualistic fashion of problems that some sociologists have advanced under the terms "in" and "out" group.

From the standpoint of statistics, inasmuch as the personality attitude represents the valuation of many elements, one would expect only one personality choice to be possible in a situation, provided the personality were stable. It would seem possible, however, to have any number of institutional attitudes on the same issue inasmuch as the degree of loading of separate elements might change. However, not more than the two attitudes on an issue were ever discovered in this study. This might be one characteristic of the community situation. The interrelationships of life are such in Elm Hollow that the expression of an attitude in public situations makes it the property of all people in the community. As a result, perhaps, a consistency of behavior is demanded in all public situations in the community that allows only one institutional attitude. In the privacy of one's home, among one's friends, or even at public gatherings, like picnics, where something happens to formality, this institutional attitude may be thrown off for the personality adjustment. In an urban life where the relationships are not so interlaced an individual might have one attitude for the Elks club, another for business and a third at the golf club.

The J-shaped distributions of institutional attitudes illuminates other problems in the study of social relationships. In the first place the study of the forms of behavior distributions of different groupings indicates a quantitative and non-normative approach to social relationships. Writers like Simmel have indicated that Sociology is the study of forms, but as yet no experimentalist has indicated the possibility of finding in the form of quantitative distributions of behavior a key to the analysis of social groupings.

Such a study would make a societal psychology completely divorced from social engineering and presents an objective, quantitative, conceptualized, description of social relationships.

The possibility of indexes based upon relationships between the normal distribution or personality choices and the J-shaped or institutionalized distribution, is indicated.

The arrangement of attitude instances in attitude scales which made possible the discovery of the J-shaped and normal distributions indicates the place of teleology in social science. The arrangement of the scale items with each other, turned out in the long run to be based upon evaluational conceptions. These conceptions, however, were the investigator's and determined his method rather than being characteristics of the objects observed. They were aids to the investigator's building up of a system of analysis, and it does not differ in methodological essentials from any other system of analysis.

All of these facts pointed to the danger in attempting to study social relationships unless a very clear viewpoint of what is sought is held. Many warning articles pointing out that attitudes are probably situational have already been published. We have discovered that situations can be generalized into two types: (1) those where there are many facts either unweighted or at least not consistently weighted in the same direction, (2) those where certain elements have dominance due to conditioned responses in individuals who enter them. It seems probable that many studies have put too much effort on gaining the confidence of people studied in order to secure personality attitudes, when what was really sought were institutional attitudes. It was the experience of this study that institutional attitudes are most easily secured. Any condition that makes the interviewed feel that what he says is to become public information in the community, resulted in institutionalized responses. Very little or no rapport is needed to get these responses if people will talk. From the standpoint of this study most of the criticism of attitude study, such as that of Read Bain in the American Journal of Sociology of May, 1928, seem directed toward securing personality attitudes. Indirection, rapport, and undesigned testimony, and other

such techniques are ways of securing personality attitudes. Any stranger who is able to get people to talk can secure institutional attitudes with little or no technique of interviewing.

In conclusion it seems fair to say that this attempt to put the individualistic conception of social relationships to an experimental test has produced at least some novel results. Many authors have complained that the chief argument against such a viewpoint is that it is time consuming and unworkable in research. This complaint has been raised throughout all science from its beginnings. Only through time consuming efforts and detailed methods can new conceptions of man in his relationships with his neighbors be established in a scientific body of knowledge.